

General Editors

JÁNOS M. BAK, URSZULA BORKOWSKA, GILES CONSTABLE, GERHARD JARITZ, GÁBOR KLANICZAY

Anonymus and Master Roger

Anonymi Bele regis notarii Gesta Hungarorum

Anonymus, Notary of King Béla The Deeds of the Hungarians

EDITED, TRANSLATED AND ANNOTATED BY
MARTYN RADY AND LÁSZLÓ VESZPRÉMY

Magistri Rogerii Epistola in miserabile carmen super destructione Regni Hungarie per tartaros facta

Master Roger's Epistle to the Sorrowful Lament upon the Destruction of the Kingdom of Hungary by the Tatars

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ANONYMUS AND MASTER ROGER



ANONYMI BELE REGIS NOTARII
GESTA HUNGARORUM



ANONYMUS, NOTARY OF KING BÉLA
THE DEEDS OF THE HUNGARIANS



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DESTRUCTIONE REGNI HUNGARIE PER
TARTAROS FACTA



MASTER ROGER'S
EPISTLE TO THE SORROWFUL LAMENT UPON
THE DESTRUCTION
OF THE KINGDOM OF HUNGARY BY THE
TATARS

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Series Editor

FRANK SCHAER

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GENERAL EDITORS' PREFACE

In general, the Central European Medieval Texts (CEMT) series—which attempts to present in good editions original Latin narratives of the region together with up-to-date, annotated English translations—may no longer need special justification, now that this fifth volume has reached the “half-way mark” of the planned ten. However, the organization of the present one may.

In this volume we print the text and translation of two narratives, the subjects of which lie some three hundred years (and more) apart. The *Gesta Hungarorum* of the anonymous notary is a literary composition about the mythical origins of the Hungarians and their conquest of the Carpathian Basin. His narrative ends with the first grand princes of the tenth century. The *Epistola in miserabile carmen super destructione regni Hungarie* of Master Roger is an epistle which includes an eyewitness account of the Mongol invasion in 1241–2, beginning with an analysis of the political conditions under King Béla IV and ending with the king's return to the devastated country. However, the two authors are by no means so far from each other as the setting of their narratives might suggest. Roger may have been born just about the time when the notary wrote his *Gesta*, and would thus have been merely one generation younger. Moreover, one may argue that the Mongol destruction of great parts of the country gave King Béla a chance for a “new foundation” of the kingdom that had been established at the time when the story of the *Gesta* ends. Thus, our decision to present these two short narratives together is not as inapposite as it may look at first sight. We hope our readers will not find it inappropriate either.

CEMT was born out of renewed interest in Central (or East Central) Europe on the one hand and the difficulty to access the medieval narratives of the region, especially for those less fluent in Latin than older generations were, on the other. So far, we have been able to present texts from Bohemia, Croatia (Dalmatia), Hungary and Poland, and we hope to continue on this road. Our principles remain the same: we print the best available critical edition of the original version, usually without full philological apparatus but with extensive annotations to the translation for readers less familiar with the history and geography of the region. Financial restraints, well known to our readers everywhere in the academic world, have hindered us from keeping to our original plan of publishing a volume a year, but we still hope to complete at least the first round of major narrative sources within the next five to six years.

We are still open to suggestions for texts to be considered and eager to hear from volunteers who would care to join our team of editors and translators. We hardly need to add that we welcome financial support of any kind from granting agencies so as not to have to rely exclusively on the goodwill and enthusiasm of our colleagues in preparing the editions and translations.

The General Editors are grateful to the editors of *The Slavonic and East European Review* (UCL, SEES) for allowing us to utilize for this volume the earlier English version of the *Gesta*, translated by Martyn Rady (published in their journal in 2009). The Central European University Press gave, in spite of its tight budget, the usual careful attention to the publication of this book; we are indebted to its management and production team.

Spring, 2010.

J. M. B - U. B. - G. C. - G. J. - G. K.

ABBREVIATIONS

GENERAL

ch.	chapter
d.g.	<i>de genere</i> (of the kindred...)
ed.	edited by
lit.	literature
n.	note
p./pp.	page/s
trans.	translated by

(Notes in the *apparatus criticus* to the Latin text follow the conventional abbreviations)

TITLES CITED IN ABBREVIATION

CEMT	Central European Medieval Texts. Budapest: CEU Press, 1999 sqq.
DAI	Constantine Porphyrogenitus. <i>De Administrando Imperio</i> . Edited by Gyula Moravcsik and Romilly J. H. Jenkins. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1967.
Dares	<i>Daretis Phrygii De Excidio Troiae Historia</i> . Edited by Ferdinand Meister. Leipzig: Teubner, 1873.

- DRMH *Decreta regni mediaevalis Hungariae. The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary.* Edited by J. M. Bak et al. 5 vols. Salt Lake City: Charles Schlacks &c., 1989 sqq.
- Engel, *Realm* Pál Engel. *The Realm of St Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary, 895-1526.* Translated by Tamás Pálosfalvi. Edited by Andrew Ayton. London: I. B. Tauris, 2001.
- Excidium* *Excidium Troie.* Edited by Alan Keith Bate. Lateinische Sprache und Literatur des Mittelalters, vol. 23. Frankfurt, Bern and New York: Peter Lang, 1986.
- Göckenjan, *Hilfsvölker* Hansgerd Göckenjan, *Hilfsvölker und Grenzwächter im mittelalterlichen Ungarn.* Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des östlichen Europa, 5. Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1972.
- Göckenjan, *Mongolensturm* *Der Mongolensturm. Berichte von Augenzeugen und Zeitgenossen 1235-1250.* Translated and edited by Hansgerd Göckenjan and James R. Sweeney. Ungarns Geschichtsschreiber, 3. Graz: Styria, 1985.
- Györffy, *Geographia* György Györffy, *Geographia historica Hungariae tempore stirpis Arpadianae. Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza.* 4 vols. Budapest: Akadémiai, 1963-98.
- Historia Alexandri* *Historia Alexandri Magni. Historia de Preliis. Rezension J2.* 2 vols. Edited by Alfred Hilka. Meisenheim an Glan: Anton Hain, 1976-7.
- Hungarian Chronicle *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV.* Edited by Alexander (Sándor) Domanovszky. In SRH 1, 219-505.

MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
AA	Auctores antiquissimi
SS	Scriptores
SSrG	Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum`
MTA	Magyar Tudományos Akadémia [Hungarian Academy of Sciences]
PSRL	<i>Polnoe sobrannie ruskikh letopisei</i> [Complete collection of Russian chronicles]. 41 vols. St. Petersburg and Moscow: Arkheograficheskaiia Kommissia, Nauka, Arkheograficheskii Tsentr, AN SSSR etc., 1841-2001.
RA	<i>Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica/Az Árpád-házi királyok okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke</i> . 2 (4) vols. Edited by Imre Szentpétery and Iván Borsa. Budapest: MTA, Akadémiai, 1923-87.
Regino	Regino von Prüm. <i>Chronicon cum continuatione Treverensi</i> . Edited by Friedrich Kurze. MGH SSrG, 50. Hannover: Hahn, 1890, and reprints.
Silagi, <i>Gesta</i>	<i>Die "Gesta Hungarorum" des anonymen Notars. Die älteste Darstellung der ungarischen Geschichte</i> . Edited by Gabriel Silagi. Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1991
Simon of Kéza	<i>Simonis de Kéza Gesta Hungarorum/Simon of Kéza, The Deeds of the Hungarians</i> . Edited and translated by László Veszprémy and Frank Schaer. With a study by Jenő Szűcs. CEMT, 1. Budapest: CEU Press, 1999.

- SRH *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*. Edited by Emericus (Imre) Szentpétery. 2 vols. Budapest: Academia Litt., 1937-8.
- Thomas of Split *Thomae archidiaconi Spalatensis, Historia Salonitanorum atque Spalatinorum pontificum/Archdeacon Thomas of Split, History of the Bishops of Salona and Split*. Latin text by Olga Perić. Edited, translated and annotated by Damir Karbić, Mirjana Matijević Sokol and James Ross Sweeney. CEMT, 4. Budapest, CEU Press, 2006.

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INTRODUCTION

The *Gesta Hungarorum* of the anonymous notary of King Béla is the oldest extant chronicle of the history of the Hungarians.¹ In his seminal study of the narrative sources of medieval Hungary, C. A. Macartney described it as “the most famous, the most obscure, the most exasperating and most misleading of all the early Hungarian texts.”² Purporting to be an account of the background, circumstances and immediate aftermath of the Hungarian settlement in the Carpathian Basin in the late ninth century, the chronicle was probably composed in the early years of the thirteenth century and reflects the literary tastes and political concerns of its own age.

MANUSCRIPT AND EDITIONS

The *Gesta* survives in a sole MS of 24 folios (48 pages of which two are blank), 17 by 24 cm in size, written in a Gothic minuscule that on the basis of its hand and decoration may be dated to the mid-thirteenth century. The writing and the elaborate initial P of the incipit (see fig. 1, p. XVI), are characteristic of that time. It is clearly not an autograph. There are many scribal errors, especially in the manner of abbreviation and in respect of proper names. So, for ex-

¹ It is, however, more than likely that the early parts of the so-called “Hungarian Chronicle”, known only from later copies, were written earlier, but whether the author of the *Gesta* knew them cannot be established with any certainty. The scholarship on this issue up to his own times is summarized in C. A. Macartney, *Studies in the Earliest Hungarian Historical Sources*, 7 vols in 8 parts (Budapest and Oxford, 1938–51); republished in C. A. Macartney, *Studies on Early Hungarian and Pontic History*, ed. Lóránt Czigány and László Péter (Aldershot and Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1999), pp. 65–560.

² C. A. Macartney, *The Medieval Hungarian Historians: A Critical and Analytical Guide* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), p. 59.

ample, the word *civitatem* ('city'), abbreviated as *civitēm*, was rendered in the extant manuscript as *civitem*, which makes no sense. Most tellingly, in ch. 45, where the author wrote about Neopatras (present-day Ypatri in Greece), which fits the story of a Hungarian raid into Byzantine territory, the copyist misread the capital N and made out of it a better known name: "Cleopatra."³ It is not clear whether the extant text is complete, and not much should be made of the author's failure to discuss a subject promised earlier in his text.⁴

The fate of the copy through the centuries is not known. Catalogue evidence suggests that it had reached the Imperial Library (*Hofbibliothek*) in Vienna some time between 1601 and 1636, when Sebastian Tengnagel, court librarian and later director, registered it as *Historia Hungarica de VII primis ducibus Hungariae auctore Belae regis notario*, pasted this into the MS, and added numbers both to the chapters and to the folios. The *Gesta* was later mentioned in the catalogue of the court librarian Mattheus Mauchter in 1652 as *De gestis Hungarorum liber*, and by Peter Lambeck in 1666. Their successor, Daniel Nessel suggested in 1692 that it should be edited. In 1711, David Czvittinger wrote a detailed report of the *Gesta* in his encyclopaedic *Specimen Hungariae Literatae*. Some time before 1780, Adam Kollár, director of the Hofbibliothek, had a manuscript from the collection of Schloss Ambras near Innsbruck bound with it, but they were later (in the first part of the nineteenth century) separated. It was then that the *Gesta* received its present leather binding, impressed with a gilt two-headed imperial eagle.⁵ The manuscript came to Hunga-

³ See below, p. 99.

⁴ The MS ends with a rhyming couplet which suggests that at least a break was intended there, but a discussion of events promised in ch. 15 (p. 45) is not followed up in the surviving copy.

⁵ The history of the MS in the Vienna library was reconstructed in detail by Emil Jakubovich, "Az ambrasi gyűjteményből való-e Béla király névtelen jegyzőjének kódexe" [Is the codex of the anonymous notary of King Béla from the Ambras collection?], *Magyar Könyvszemle* 34 (1927), pp. 84–99, with full bibliography. (Also available online: <http://epa.oszk.hu/00000/00021/00179/pdf/084-099.pdf>.)

ry in 1934 under the terms of the 1932 Treaty of Venice (in which the treasures of the Hapsburg Empire were distributed among the successor states) and is now held in the Széchényi National Library as Clmae 403.

The text was first published in 1746 by Johann Georg von Schwandtner in his *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*, with a preface by the learned polyhistor, Matthias Bél⁶; four reprints followed in the subsequent twenty years. János Letenyei translated the *Gesta* into Hungarian in 1790 and gave the author the name “Anonymus,” which has remained ever since. Between then and the end of the nineteenth century, the MS was re-published more than a dozen times. A scholarly edition, with critical annotation, was first published by Gyula Pauler and László Fejérpataky in 1900, and a revised edition by Emil (Aemilius) Jakubovich and Dezső (Desiderius) Pais in the first volume of Imre (Emericus) Szentpétery’s *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum*. A full-tone facsimile edition was published more recently. The Latin text has been translated several times into Hungarian, as well as into Romanian, German, Slovak, and Polish. The present English-language version, based on one published in *The Slavonic and East European Review*,⁷ is the first parallel edition, with critical apparatus, of the Latin text and an English translation.

AUTHOR AND DATE

Despite two hundred years of scholarly effort, the identity of the author has not been established. He describes himself in the first line of the text as “P who is called master, and former notary of the late King Béla of good memory,” but virtually every word in this sentence poses problems. The initial P, together with *dictus*, was read by some (thus by Schwandtner in the *editio princeps*) as

⁶ For the editions and translations, see Bibliography, pp. 229–41, below.

⁷ *The Slavonic and East European Review* 87/4 (2009), pp. 681–727.

an abbreviation for *praedictus*, that is “aforementioned,” on the assumption, from the empty page preceding the text, that in the extant copy a “title page” had been erased which originally gave the full name of the author (even though this would be unusual for medieval MSS). This hypothesis was rejected even before it was established with modern technology that the empty page contains merely an erased faulty beginning of the *Gesta* and no indication of any name of an author. Then, the P was understood as the initial of the author (although no dot follows it, as might be expected were it the abbreviation of a name). Accordingly, scholars hunted for an author called Peter, Paul or such like, but although some were suggested, none could be unequivocally connected to the *Gesta*.

That the author called himself “*dictus*” *magister* has caused needless headache to scholars. The humility formula, implying something like “although unworthy” (and typical for ecclesiastics) was widely used; indeed, there is even a similar wording in a charter from 1226 by Abbot Uros of Pannonhalma.⁸ Speculation about the author not having in fact obtained a degree and other similar constructions are irrelevant.⁹ Nor is the term *notarius* (which the author previously, perhaps in his younger years, had been) problematic. Although there were no notaries (public) in medieval Hungary, the staff of the gradually emerging chancellery, small in number, had ever since the late twelfth century been described as notaries.

A further problem arises with the identity of King Béla, the deceased former sovereign of the author. There were four kings of Hungary called Béla. Béla I, one of the exiled sons of the blinded Vazul, a relative of St Stephen, reigned briefly between 1060 and

⁸ See László Erdélyi, ed., *A pannonhalmi Szt. Benedek rend története*, 12 vols. (Budapest: Stephaneum, 1902–1916), vol. 1, p. 680, and a similar wording from the year 1221, vol. 12, p. 201.

⁹ In fact, in the time of Anonymus the title *magister* did not imply a university degree or teaching license; see Rainer Maria Herkenrath, “Studien zum Magistertitel in der frühen Stauferzeit,” *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 88 (1988), p. 5 (pp. 3–35).

1063. Béla II “the Blind,” blinded as a child together with his father, Prince Álmos, by King Coloman, reigned from 1131 to 1141. Béla III, who returned from Byzantium where he had been for a while heir presumptive to Emperor Manuel, was king between 1172 and 1196. Finally, there is Béla IV, Hungary’s ruler during the Mongol invasion and acclaimed “restorer” of the kingdom, who reigned longer than all his namesakes, from 1235 to 1270. The basic difficulty of identifying the author and dating his writing is compounded by the fact that very few charters were issued before the 1220s (and even less survived). Accordingly, the names and properties (estates, castles, etc.) mentioned in the *Gesta* cannot be cross-checked with the evidence preserved elsewhere in order to establish more exactly the time of the chronicle’s composition.¹⁰

From the eighteenth to the mid-twentieth century the central issue was the “reliability” of the author: that is, how well informed he was of the events he related, and, thus, how much reliance may be put on his pieces of “information.” In respect of his reliability, it was assumed that the earlier he could be shown to have composed his account, the better; for if he wrote in the eleventh century—or at least in the early twelfth—he might be supposed to have “known” more precisely what happened in the ninth. On the other hand, it had to be conceded that many expressions or references in the *Gesta* pointed to a later composition, maybe even as late as the end of the thirteenth century. The debate over the four Bélas could fill a library and elicited some very acute and valuable philological and historical insights, which it is hardly necessary to rehearse here. For some time now, the scholarly consensus—though not without some scholars holding out for a different dating—is that Anonymus was formerly employed by Béla III and thus wrote his *Gesta* some time after 1192.

Even accepting this date as a *terminus post quem*, the exact date of the *Gesta*’s composition is still debated. Presently, most historians (disregarding the minority who still doubt the connection

¹⁰ The few instances where some hints at historical persons can be found are noted below, see e.g. n. 4 on p. 43; n. 1 on p. 44; n. 3 on p. 51.

to Béla III) suggest a date later than the traditional “ca. 1200.” The concern to justify Hungarian claims to the territory of the kingdom vis-à-vis Byzantium or to explain the involvement of the royal house in the affairs of Halich, relevant in the years immediately following Béla’s death,¹¹ speaks for an early thirteenth-century date. How much later it could have been written is an open question, depending on the weight given to linguistic and historical (charters &c.) evidence. However, considering the probable age of the author and the fact that it is unlikely that the Mongol invasion of 1241 would not have left traces in the *Gesta*, the *terminus ante quem* could be as late as the 1230s.

While the name of the author remains an enigma (and in our times the need to find names for anonymous authors, a matter central to scholarly enquiry in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,¹² is of less importance), some features of his career can be culled from the text. It has been assumed—partly based on his formulaic reference to “schoolmate N.”—that he studied at a French or (more likely) Italian university or cathedral school, but his rather simple Latin and limited familiarity with the Classics speaks against that. It would have been, for example, obvious to borrow from Vergil when telling the story of the foundation of a new homeland, but he never did.¹³ His schooling was more probably that of a notary and his style is closer to the rather unsophisticated urban chronicles of his time than to that of university-trained authors. Anonymus’s literary models are taken more from “popular

¹¹ Between 1205 and 1213, King Andrew II led almost yearly campaigns to Halich, supporting different claimants to its throne; after 1205/6 he used the title *rex Galicie et Lodomerie* in his royal style; and in 1214 he made his son, Prince Coloman, king of Halich; see George A. Perfecky, “Hungary and the Hungarians in the Galician-Volynian Chronicle,” *Hungarian Studies* 8 (1987) 1-2, pp. 19-29, with extensive quotations from primary evidence.

¹² Compare the eighteenth-century efforts by Russian scholars to identify the author of the anonymous Primary Chronicle; see Oleksiy Tolochko, “On Nestor the Chronicler,” *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, forthcoming (2010).

¹³ Compare, among others, Cosmas of Prague, whose chapter on the settlement of the ancestors in Bohemia is thoroughly indebted to the *Aeneid*, or Dudo of St. Quentin, who used Vergil for his story of the Normans’ foundation of their duchy.

readings” than from the Classics or ecclesiastical authors. The occasional word or term from such authorities must have reached him second hand. He may, however, had travelled abroad, as he was familiar with some areas of Western Europe, and it is unlikely that the books he read (as discussed below) would have been available in Hungary

The author’s knowledge of place names, major roads and castles, especially in the north-eastern part of Hungary, and the frequent echo of formulas of charters in the text confirm his closeness to the itinerant royal court.¹⁴ His linguistic abilities are unclear: he seems to have known some Magyar, but whether it was his first language is uncertain, since sometimes he uses Hungarian “case endings” in the Latin, as if unaware of Hungarian grammar. (It has also been suggested that he took these forms from some long-lost, heroic songs and retained them unchanged.) Still, many of his etymologies are correct and betray a knowledge of the vernacular. He felt, for example, that an ending –d implied a Hungarian diminutive (e.g., Borsod, ch. 18, p. 49 and elsewhere).¹⁵ It has been demonstrated that he knew little if any Greek but may have had a grasp of some Turkic language (he was possibly the first European writer to call the Black Sea as such, which suggests some acquaintance with Turkic).¹⁶ His occasional etymologies based on

¹⁴ It is worth noting that from the forty-eight castles mentioned by Anonymus, forty-four have been identified by archaeologists as being built in the Árpadian age (though, of course, not in the ninth century); see István Bóna, *Az Árpádok korai várjai* [Early castles of the Árpadians], 2nd ed. (Debrecen: Etnica, 1998).

¹⁵ It has been suggested that the words *contra stare* for ‘resist, stand up against’ hide a Hungarism as mirror translation of Magyar *ellenállni* ‘stand against,’ since the expression is very rarely found in Medieval Latin; however, it may come from the Bible. Possible Hungarisms are also suggested in János Harmatta, “Remarques sur le lexique du latin médiéval et la substrat hongrois,” *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 13 (1975), pp. 335–44.

¹⁶ Georges I. Bratianu, *La mer Noire* (Societas Academica Dacoromana. Acta Historica, 9), Monaco, 1969, p. 45; János Horváth, “Meister P. und sein Werk,” *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 17 (1969) pp. 17–48; 18 (1970): 371–412, 19 (1971) 347–382. However, naming the Pontus Euxinus ‘Black Sea’ occurs also in Nordic texts, e.g. in Snorri Sturluson’s *Heimskringla or the Lives of the Norse Kings*, ed. Snorre Sturlason and Erling Monsen, p. 1 (Cambridge: Heffer, 1932), and in

Slavic words are correct. But these are only hypotheses. Whether our notary obtained higher ecclesiastical preferment after service in the chancellery cannot be ascertained, although it is supposed by most scholars. That he did not identify himself as such may have been due to the stylistic demands of the humility topos.

GESTA REGUM – GESTA NOBILIUM¹⁷

More relevant than the exact identity of the author is his purpose in writing, the *causa scribendi*. Even if we disregard the witty construction of Szabolcs de Vajay, who played with the idea that the *Gesta* was but a “game” among intellectuals,¹⁸ there are many other possible guesses as to the author’s intentions. Anonymus may indeed have intended to give a historically-grounded account of early Hungarian history that was not based upon the songs of minstrels and the yarns of yokels,¹⁹ and that comported with the historical fashion of his times. To present a respectable or even illustrious *origo gentis*—in this case, the descent of the Hungarians from the undefeated Scythians—was a common endeavor in the Middle Ages.²⁰ Similarly, to establish an elegant genealogy for the ruling dynasty—here by associating it with Japhet, son of Noah, and

the *Morkinskinna* (c. 1220), ed. Finnur Jónsson, pp. 84–5 (Copenhagen: Jørgensen, 1932), thus, the form may have reached Anonymus from other directions as well.

¹⁷ We borrow this subtitle from the Romanist János Győry’s book, *Gesta Regum – Gesta Nobilium. Tanulmány Anonymus krónikájáról* [*Gesta Regum – Gesta Nobilium: Studies on the chronicle of Anonymus*] (Budapest: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 1948).

¹⁸ The well-known medievalist Szabolcs de Vajay, wrote a tongue-in-cheek novel, published (appropriately anonymously!) with the title *Én, Anonymus* [I, Anonymus] (Budapest: Argumentum, 1998), in which he has the notary write a spoof *Gesta* for the amusement of a friend.

¹⁹ See below, Prologue and ch. 42, pp. 5 and 91.

²⁰ On rhetorical-literary history writing based on Classical sources, see Reginald W. Southern, *Aspects of the European Traditions of Historical Writing*, vol. 1, *The Classical Tradition from Einhard to Geoffrey of Monmouth*, Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 5th Series, 20, 1970, pp. 173–96. See also Alheydis Plassmann, *Origo gentis*:

with the Old Testament Gog and Magog, and even more so, with Attila the Hun, the “scourge of God,”—fits well with the legendary stories of other ruling houses. The notary did even more, assigning to the landowning clans and kindreds of his time heroic ancestors from the “conquest age,” who received their estates from none less than Árpád, chief of the ninth-century Magyars, and “hold it ever since,” as the author repeatedly confirms. As a member of the chancellery, he may have had access to donation charters, even if there was hardly any central register of such grants in his time (nor was there any later). Throughout the Hungarian Middle Ages, the proems (*narrationes*) of these documents often referred in detail to past heroic deeds²¹ as the reason for the grant of an estate *in perpetuum*. The exploits of the heroes and the suitable prizes obtained for them, as told by the notary, reflect this perception of service and reward. Indeed, it was not long after 1200 that the leading families began to refer to a real or legendary ancestor of their kindred when describing themselves as being *de genere &c* (‘of the kindred of...’).²² By lauding the descent of the royal house and of the kingdom’s leading families, the *Gesta* may thus have been welcome both to the court and to the king’s great men, the author’s lords and contemporaries. Moreover, Anonymus did not tire to underline that Árpád consulted his retinue every time before deciding on a campaign or embassy, while in the so-called “blood contract” the legendary chieftains (the “principal persons” in his usage) were guaranteed that they and their offspring would forever hold the possessions they had obtained and would not be left out of the prince’s council.²³ The oath additionally contains in rudimentary form what became the oft-discussed “right of resistance” of the no-

Identitäts- und Legitimitätsstiftung in früh- und hochmittelalterlichen Herkunftserzählungen, *Orbis mediaevalis*, 7 (Berlin : Akademie-Verlag., 2006).

²¹ See Elemér Mályusz, “La chancellerie royale et la rédaction des chroniques dans la Hongrie médiévale,” *Le Moyen Age* 75 (1969), pp. 51–86, 219–54.

²² Indeed, almost all of the kindreds mentioned by the author as descendants of the legendary heroes are documented from around 1200.

²³ See chs. 5–6, p. 17–19 below.

bility, codified in the famous Golden Bull of Andrew II of 1222.²⁴ All these notions coincided with the concerns of the ever more powerful aristocracy of the early thirteenth century, one of the possible intended “audiences” of the retired notary.

In contrast to most historians of his age, Anonymus, even though most likely a clerk, did not denigrate the pagan ancestors of the Magyars but rather emphasized that God or the Holy Spirit had led them in their battles and exploits.²⁵ Of course, the conviction that victory is granted by God to the just side, and thus that the victors must have had divine support, was general in the Christian Middle Ages,²⁶ but the notary went further than this. He underlined more than once that the pagan Magyars were granted victory and obtained new land with the express support of God. Only once did he admit that the Hungarians of the tenth century were bent on conquest and the ruthless subjection of peoples—but then right away added that they were compelled so to act, otherwise they could not have bequeathed land and power to succeeding generations.²⁷ The Christianization of the people by St Stephen is noted briefly and one who resisted it, condemned,²⁸ but in the *Gesta* none of the usual “discontinuity” can be detected between the distant heathen past and the Christian age. Thus a divine legitimization of all past deeds of the “ancestors” was interwoven with the “national history.” Subsequently, the “mission” of the Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin became a basic tenet of Magyar national identity, with or without a religious or metaphysical content.

²⁴ See *DRMH* 1, 32-5, and Josef Deér, “Der Weg zur Goldenen Bulle Andreas II,” *Schweizer Beiträge zur allgemeinen Geschichte* 10 (1952), pp. 104-38.

²⁵ See chs. 4, 8, 23, 37, 39, 44, 46, 49, 50, 56 etc., pp. 15, 23 and so on, below. See László Veszprémy, “*More paganismo*”: Reflections on Pagan and Christian Past in the *Gesta Hungarorum* (*GH*) of the Hungarian Anonymous Notary,” in Ildar H. Garipzanov, ed., *Historical Narratives and Christian Identity on a European Periphery* (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming), ch. 10, and the other articles in the same volume.

²⁶ For which, see e.g. 1 Macc. 3.19: “For the success of war is not in the multitude of the army, but strength cometh from heaven.”

²⁷ Ch. 44, p. 97.

²⁸ Ch. 57, p. 1279 with the closing rhymed lines.

METHOD AND SOURCES

Anonymus's account is above all else a "toponymic romance" that seeks to explain place-names by reference to imagined events or persons, and vice versa. Not having had any reliable information on the early history of the Magyars, nor of the events surrounding their arrival and settlement in the Carpathian Basin, Anonymus had to invent the past on the basis of what he knew of his own time and assemble it in the narrative form popular in his age.

The notary's basic "method" was to explain the toponymy of the late twelfth century by reference to events and people living in the ninth and tenth centuries and to invent persons whose names he took from toponyms. He also sensed, correctly, that names of places, waters, and mountains or hills tend to preserve the memory of olden times or of their earliest inhabitants and first known owners. In fact, Hungarian place names are often derived from some ancient owner, without any morphological change. (Therefore, the many place names in the *Gesta* are valuable clues to the old Hungarian language, at least as it was spoken ca. 1200). It was by conflating persons with places that Anonymus arrived, for example, at the names of the warrior Csepel, of the Vlach lord, Marót, and of the defeated leader of Slavs, Salan. These personal names were all taken directly from contemporary toponymy, respectively the name of the island on the Danube immediately south of modern Budapest; that of two villages, both called Marótlaka (now: Morlaca), near Cluj²⁹; and that of the ford of Szalánkemén/Slankamen on the confluence of the Danube and Tisza rivers.

Although Anonymus got the names of the earliest Hungarian rulers right, as well as some of the early tribal chieftains, he described the Hungarians beating Slavic, Vlach and Bulgarian leaders whose names—as mentioned above—are not attested anywhere else. The Magyars allying themselves with the Cumans (who

²⁹ To complicate matters further, the word *marót* meant a Moravian in Old Hungarian!

appeared in Europe only in the late eleventh century) and, more incredibly, defeating “Romans” are particularly impressive items of his phantasy. All in all, his description of power-relations north of the Danube in the late ninth century is not supported by any other account. As he had no knowledge of the peoples encountered by the Magyars of the ninth century, he populated the region with those whom he knew from his own time or whose names appeared among the toponyms of his country. For good measure, he also added some, such as the Romans, derived from his own reading of popular histories.

Nevertheless, there are bits of history also known from other sources in Anonymus’s work, and at least a few of his heroes can be confirmed from information given by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Liudprand of Cremona, the Annals of St Gall, and the continuator of Regino of Prüm.³⁰ For much of the early history he borrowed extensively from Regino. As well, he plainly relied in part on diverse (unknown) written accounts, some of which would later feed into the “Hungarian Chronicle” known from a fourteenth-century compilation, but possibly going back to some centuries before.³¹ (The Hungarian Chronicle also tells of the shaven Cuman heads being sliced like unripe gourds.³²) The extent

³⁰ See below, chs. 55, 57 (p. 121). Constantine Porphyrogenitus’s mid-tenth century account, *De Administrando imperio*—henceforth *DAI*—thus records ‘Almoutzis’ and his son, ‘Arpad’, as Hungarian leaders (ch. 38)—ed. Gyula Moravcsik and Romilly J. H. Jenkins (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1967), pp. 172-3; Gyula Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1958), vol. 2, pp. 63, 71-2, 107, 298. For the Western sources, see below, esp. chs. 53-5 (pp. 115-21). Regino’s account is known to have circulated extensively in Central Europe. According to Macartney (*The Medieval Hungarian Historians*, pp. 82-3), Anonymus may have also borrowed from an account of the Third Crusade.

³¹ The relationship of these—and possibly others—to each other is a complicated issue (on which see also above, n. 1, on p. XVII) and would lead too far to be discussed here. A brief summary is offered in László Veszprémy, “Gesta Ungarorum,” in *Europas Mitte*, vol. 2, pp. 542-50; see also László Veszprémy and Frank Schaer, ed. and trans., *Simonis de Kéza, Gesta Hungarorum/Simon of Kéza, The Deeds of the Hungarians* (Budapest and New York: CEU Press, 1999)—henceforth, Simon of Kéza—esp. pp. xii-xiv.

³² Ch. 8, below; cf. ch. 102, SRH 1, p. 368.

to which the author relied upon “oral traditions”—which he dismissed twice, but quoted once!—cannot, however, be tested, but it is not unlikely that the major clans had traditions of their own origins as well as minstrels who recited heroic songs about these. There are many stylistic elements in the *Gesta*, such as “formulaic” repetitions, that are typical of lays of this type. Alas, little can be said about these possible oral traditions, as the first surviving fragment of a vernacular “heroic song” is from the siege of Šabac, anno 1478—clearly far too distant from our notary’s time to tell us anything about what he might have heard.

Based on his toponymic constructions and on some oral or written traditions, Anonymus decided to write a story of the Hungarians wandering westwards and occupying step by step, partly with victorious battles, the Carpathian Basin using the narrative modes he had learned from the stories of the siege of Troy and the exploits of Alexander the Great.

According to the expectations of his age, when chroniclers were no more satisfied by merely reporting what they read or heard but wished to authenticate their narrative,³³ Anonymus right away mentioned Scripture and Dares Phrygius as his authorities. Indeed, he relied on both. His Biblical references, mainly from the Pentateuch but also from other books of the Old Testament, are not surprising in a clerical author. Dares and his *Excidium Troie*³⁴ came to be Anonymus’s model not only by direct borrowings, but in the

³³ See Bernard Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique dans l’Occident médiévale* (Paris: Aubier, 1980), pp. 300–31, and idem, “L’histoire entre l’éloquence et la science. Quelques remarques sur le prologue de Guillaume de Malmesbury et ses *Gesta regum Anglorum*,” *Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres. Comptes rendus des séances de l’Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres* 1982 (126, no. 2), pp. 357–69.

³⁴ The account of the fall of Troy by pseudo-Dares Phrygius was composed ca. 600 AD and much read in the centuries following. See *Daretis Phrygii de Excidio Troiae Historia*, ed. Ferdinand Meister (Leipzig: Teubner, 1873), esp. chs. 12–13, pp. 14–7; *The Trojan War: The Chronicles of Dictys of Crete and Dares the Phrygian*, trans. R. M. Frazer Jr. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1966), pp. 131–68; *Excidium Troiae*, ed. E. Bagby Atwood and Virgil K. Whitaker (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1944); *Excidium Troie*, ed. Alan Keith Bate, *Lateinische Sprache und Literatur des Mittelalters*, vol. 23 (Frankfurt–Bern–New York: Peter Lang, 1986).

overall structure of short but informative accounts naming important protagonists and main events.³⁵ For the lively battle scenes, Anonymus's guide was one of the popular romances about Alexander the Great.³⁶

Legal expressions abound in the *Gesta*. Some of them have a good pedigree, such as the word *embola* for 'a troop' that comes from Justinian's *Codex* (1.2.10 etc.) and appears in twelfth-century commentaries as well. But it is unlikely that Anonymus read any of these. We may rather assume that he found the word in some model charter or formulary. His pun on *exercitatio* – *exercitatio* (ch. 55, p. 118–9) is also hardly his invention, since it appears in Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies* (9.3.58), but was no doubt similarly transmitted to him in some handbook or charter. Most of the legal terms are, however, borrowings from chancery practice, identifiable from the—however few—Hungarian deeds of his age or earlier.

Among the *artes dictandi*, Anonymus used, beyond doubt, that of Hugh of Bologna, the *Rationes dictandi prosaice* (ca. 1119–30),³⁷ already in the first few lines of his work. (Indeed, this is a strong argument against placing him in the eleventh century.) However, he did not follow it in the rest of his writing as his formulations are quite pedestrian. Excepting a few puns and not very imaginative metaphors, his style is plain, though mostly clear

³⁵ There are, indeed, examples of codices in which such texts are bound together. One such, from Monte Cassino, now in the Bibliotheca Laurentiana, contains the *Exordia Scythica*, Dares Phrygius and a commentary on the *Aeneis*; in another (in Bamberg) a probably Neapolitan story of Troy and an excerpt from Virgil are found together. Our notary may have perused a similar codex; see István Kapitánffy, "Anonymus és az *Excidium Troiae*" [Anonymus and the *Excidium Troiae*], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 75 (1971), pp. 126–29 (reprinted in idem, *Hungarobyzantiná: Bizánc és a görögség középkori magyarországi forrásokban* (Budapest: Typotext, 2003), pp. 194–203.

³⁶ E.g. the *Historia Alexandri Magni. Historia de Preliis. Rezension J2*, ed. Alfred Hilka (Meisenheim an Glan: Anton Hain, 1976–7); see also the Bibliography.

³⁷ Hugo Bononiensis, *Rationes dictandi prosaice*, in *Briefsteller und Formelbücher des elften bis vierzehnten Jahrhunderts*, ed. Ludwig Rockinger (Munich: Franz; 1863; repr. Aalen: Scientia, 1969), vol. 1, pp. 47–94.

and informative. The few rhymed sentences would not qualify as *prosologium* (verse inserts into prose) and one cannot find any of the more demanding rhetorical devices usual in twelfth- and thirteenth-century writings.

After all this, it hardly needs to be emphasized that the *Gesta* is in no ways a source of information for the events it pretends to narrate, but rather for the ideas about them current in the Hungary of the notary's times and for the literary skills of its author.

RECEPTION

There are very few documents from the Middle Ages that carry such heavy political baggage. Soon after its publication in the eighteenth century, German scholars of the Universities of Halle and Göttingen dismissed it as a baseless tale, and called the author a "*Fabelmann*" (fairy-tale teller), particularly on account of his faulty description of the Rus' principalities. In fact, these chapters of the *Gesta* offered a striking parallel to the description in the Russian Primary Chronicle (first published in 1767) of the Hungarians' passage by Kiev on their way to their new homeland. But August Ludwig Schlözer and Johann Salomo Semler argued that the principalities mentioned by Anonymus did not exist in the ninth century. They also pointed to Anonymus's uncritical and inconsistent use of Regino.³⁸ Other German readers also noted the absence of any reference to Germans in the kingdom of Hungary, which is, in fact, a strange omission. While the *Gesta*'s authenticity in the strict sense of being a narrative composed in the Middle Ages, rather than a later forgery, was rarely doubted, it was nevertheless decried as not being a "true record."

³⁸ E.g., Johann Salomo Semler, *Versuch den Gebrauch der Quellen in der Staats- und Kirchengeschichte der mittlern Zeiten zu erleichtern* (Halle: Gebauer, 1761), pp. 27–33; August Ludwig Schlözer, *Nestor, Russische Annalen in ihrer Slawonischen Grund Sprache* (Göttingen: Dieterich, 1805), vol. 3, pp. 107–48.

Within the kingdom, it was a Slovak priest, Georgius Szklenár, who in 1784 and 1788 first registered doubts as to the *Gesta's* reliability. His study was a seriously critical assessment, based on good philology, but he, too, dismissed the notary as “a liar” on account of his failure to include the location of Great Moravia.³⁹ On the other hand, Anonymus's account was given full credit when it served nationalist interests. The Romanians of the eighteenth-century Principality of Transylvania (at that time under Viennese rule) turned to him for support. In the *Supplex libellus Valachorum*, submitted to the Vienna court, the authors claimed the right to be one of the historic “nations” of Transylvania beside the Hungarians, Székely and Saxons. They argued on the basis of Anonymus's narrative that, even though Prince Gelou/Gyalu of the “Vlachs” was defeated by the Magyars, his subjects swore an oath of allegiance to the chief Tuhutum/Tétény. Hence their descendants should be accepted as a constituent community of the Principality.⁴⁰

All such challenges were rejected by patriotic Hungarian (and Saxon) authors, some of whom added serious scholarship to the study of the text. The first major monograph in defense of Anonymus, Daniel Cornides's *Vindiciae anonymi Bele Regis notarii*, published posthumously in 1802, addressed virtually all the issues of dating and authenticity that were to be discussed in the subsequent two centuries. While he did not come down unequivocally on the date (hesitating between Bela II and III), he mustered almost all problematic points which have featured in one way or another in the debates down to our day.⁴¹

³⁹ Georgius Szklenár, *Vetustissmus Magnae Moraviae situs*, (Posonii: n. p., 1784), and *Hypercriticon examinis vetustissimi Magnae Moraviae situs et vindiciae Anonymi Belae Regis scribae*, Ibid. 1788. The author could not foresee that the question of the location and extent of “Magna Moravia” will be a major issue of debate some two hundred years later, beginning with Imre Boba's *Moravia's History Reconsidered: A Re-interpretation of Medieval Sources* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1971)—and still not settled.

⁴⁰ *Representatio et humillimae preces universae in Transylvania valachicae nationis se pro reynicolari natione qualis fuit...* (Iaș, 1791).

⁴¹ A few overviews of the controversies around the *Gesta* are listed in the bibliography, below, p. 233.

The description which the author gives of the presence and whereabouts of peoples in Central Europe during the ninth century was extensively used to buttress historical claims to territories until well into the twentieth century. Readings of the *Gesta* were thus used after 1918 to justify the cession of Transylvania to Romania as well as, after the Second World War, of Oroszvár to Czechoslovakia.⁴² In 1987, the *Gesta* acquired particular notoriety on account of a full-page advertisement in *The Times*, paid for by the Romanian government, affirming the validity of the chronicler's account of a Romanian presence in the Carpathian basin more than a thousand years before.⁴³ Modern scholarly readings of the *Gesta Hungarorum* are less beset by political partisanship in the post-Schengen world of the EU. Only dinosaurs care about who was where first.

On the other side, the story as presented by Anonymus quickly came to form the *grande narrative* of the Magyars in the age of budding national self-consciousness and beyond. The first major step was its transformation into an epic poem of ten cantos by the young Mihály Vörösmarty (1800–1855), published in 1825 as “The Flight of Zalán: A Heroic Poem.”⁴⁴ In the best Homeric tradition—following the example of the seventeenth-century Hungarian epic by Nicholas Zrínyi/Zrinski on the siege of the castle of Szigetvár⁴⁵—Vörösmarty described in romantic fashion heroic musters, roaring battle scenes, and the tragic fates of the vanquished. His names, partly culled from the notary's text,

⁴² Macartney, *The Medieval Hungarian Historians*, p. 70.

⁴³ *The Times*, 7 April, 1987; reproduced in László Péter, ed., *Historians and the History of Transylvania* (Boulder CO: East European Monographs, 1992), pp. 197–201.

⁴⁴ Mihál (sic) Vörösmarty, *Zalán futása. Hősköltemény* (Pest: Trattner, 1825). On this see János M. Bak, “From Anonymus to the ‘Flight of Zalán,’” in *Histoire Croisée of the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Patrick Geary and Gábor Klaniczay (The Hague: Brill, forthcoming).

⁴⁵ Miklós Zrínyi, *Libri obsidionis Szigetianae XV, azaz A szigeti veszedelem XV énekben*, first published in 1651.

partly of his own invention,⁴⁶ and the entire image of the victorious horsemen defeating the cowardly Slavs became the common inheritance of the Hungarian public, “folklorized” through calendars and schoolbooks until well into the twentieth century.⁴⁷ For the millennial celebration of the “arrival of the Hungarians” in 1896, the novelist Maurus Jókai (1825-1904) designed a 120-metre panorama, which in its depiction of events closely followed Anonymus’s account.⁴⁸ In 1995, the restored panorama, after suffering damage in the Second World War, was put on public view at Pusztaszer, where, according to Anonymus’s account, the conquering Hungarians had first drawn up their laws. And Árpád with his six “principal persons,” mounted on Arab steeds and wearing panther-skin capes, just as Anonymus and Vörösmarty imagined them, still overlooks the grave of the Unknown Soldier at Heroes’ Square in Budapest.

EDITORIAL PRINCIPLES

The Latin text follows, as mentioned above, essentially the one established by its editors in the standard collection of Hungarian narrative sources, edited by Szentpétery, but has been freshly

⁴⁶ A quick survey of given names in Hungary today would confirm the continued popularity not only of Attila but also of Árpád, Emese, Szabolcs, Zsolt and many others for which the copyright rests with either the notary or the poet.

⁴⁷ In her doctoral dissertation, the folklorist Éva Mikos looked at more than seventy calendars (“Farmers’ Almanach” type books) beginning with 1778, and found in a great number of them stories and pictures based on the *Gesta*; see her “Anonymus és a folklore, avagy esettanulmány arról miképpen lett az ismeretlen mester műve mind-eké a 19. században” [Anonymus and folklore: A case study about the unknown master’s work having become common knowledge in the nineteenth century], in *Folklor és történelem*, ed. Ágnes Szemerkenyi (Budapest: Akadémiai, 2007), pp. 102–22.

⁴⁸ See, inter alia, Janos M. Bak and Anna Bak-Gara, “The Ideology of a ‘Millennial Constitution’ of Hungary,” *East European Quarterly* 15 (1981), pp. 307–26; reprinted as ch. 17 in J. M. Bak, *Studying Medieval Rulers and Their Subjects: Central Europe and Beyond* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010.).

collated with the manuscript in facsimile.⁴⁹ Since that edition is slightly outdated and not easily available, we also note as emendations vis-à-vis the manuscript and register in the notes the corrections proposed by more recent research. The titles of the chapters follow the rubrics of the surviving manuscript, and the numbering of the chapters adheres to conventions set since the eighteenth century. As usual in modern editions, the author's usage regarding u/v has been normalized, but occasionally (in proper names) retained for the sake of authenticity.

The translation follows the principles of the CEMT series. It attempts to reproduce as far as possible the sense and style of the Latin original while offering a readable English narrative. In the case of the *Gesta* we may have been more rigorous than usual in following the Latin, retaining repetitions and circumlocutory formulations even if the sentence structure thus became awkward. A few exceptions to CEMT practice have been made. Besides "modernizing" all proper names, about which more below, we reduced the number of *ets* and cut up the notary's often interminably long sentences, frequently containing events or comments not belonging in the same statement. The usual Latin form of beginning titles, *De* (On...), was omitted for easier readability. We tried to rescue as much as possible of the author's word-plays, but did not succeed in all cases. The two or three rhyming inserts are translated in such a way as to give an impression of their character. Verbatim quotations taken from diverse sources (reproduced in italics) are identified wherever appropriate,⁵⁰ but the author's frequent recurrence to his readings (such as the story of Troy or the Alexander the Great romances) was not specified in every case. Our translation has profited much from recent German and Hungarian versions,⁵¹ both of which have more annotations than the present volume. In respect of the notes and critical apparatus, we have fol-

⁴⁹ See Bibliography, pp. 229–30.

⁵⁰ Biblical quotations follow as a rule the Douay-Reims translation of the Vulgate. Recurrent Biblical phrases will not be identified at subsequent instances.

⁵¹ See the Bibliography, below, p. 230.

lowed CEMT practice by referring mainly to titles in languages other than Hungarian (or other local vernaculars), assuming that readers familiar with these will be able to find the references in the national bibliographies and handbooks. Considering the extensive scholarship on innumerable details of the *Gesta*, we had to be economical. The bibliography (pp. 229–41 below) may help to identify additional literature.

The usual problem of translating technical terms in medieval Central European texts into English—due to the different social and political development from that in the British Isles—emerged with the *Gesta* as well, and even more so as the notary applied terms of his own time to describe events occurring many hundred years before. Among these are such words as *dux*, *nobilis* and *jobagio*. The first is the most problematic. Anonymus seems to have used the term in its very basic meaning, as ‘leader.’ He did not mean by “duke” the ruler or commander of a region or group of people subordinate to a sovereign. His *duces*, be they leaders of the Hungarians or their opponents, were supreme lords of their respective “polities.” Therefore, we decided to follow the traditional Hungarian custom of calling the heads of peoples or major territorial units “princes” (with the exception of the dukes of the Czechs, who bore this title in the earlier Middle Ages). We did not attempt to be precise in a “constitutional” sense, thus our choice is open to challenge. The author’s reference to *nobiles* and *jobagiones* can be decoded on the basis of near-contemporary records (such as the Golden Bull of Andrew II of 1222). There, both terms refer to the major lords or aristocrats, even though the two words changed their meaning in the course of the thirteenth century. *Nobiles* came to mean a wide stratum of freemen with landed property, and *jobagio* (from the Hungarian ‘*jobbágy*’) a seigneurially dependent peasant. The notary used the two terms in their ancient meaning, thereby adding to the debate over the dating of his text. Another term with specific meaning for the medieval Hungarian society is *genus*, used by Anonymus for the descendants of the legendary heroes of his story. We translate it as ‘kindred,’ a term introduced in the translation of Erik Fügedi’s pioneering study of a noble family-

network in northern Hungary.⁵² The kindreds—similar to clans, but differing in the way they reckoned their membership and in some other characteristics—seem to have held land in common. Even after the land had been divided up between branches (and later families), all male members of the kindred had inheritance rights in case of default of issue and thus retained a concurrent legal interest. Many kindreds had a central castle and a sacral centre ('kindred monastery') that served as their common funeral site. As argued above, the *Gesta* seems to have been written to a great extent for the purpose of giving these twelfth- and thirteenth-century kindreds an archaic pedigree. Much less problematic is that the author calls all waters, from creek to river (even lake!) *fluvi*us (exceptionally: *rivulus*, *stagnum*), and all elevations, be they only 20–50 meters high, *mons*; we keep his usage and translate all of these as 'river' and 'mountain' (unless otherwise specified by the author). Similarly, Anonymus called every settlement of some importance *castrum* or Hungarian *-vár* (castle), regardless whether in fact it was ever a fortified site. We have occasionally commented on this, but otherwise translated his appellation verbatim. Additional problems of translation are discussed in the relevant notes.

Names posed here a greater problem than in several other texts in this series. As mentioned above, only very few personal names are known from other sources; most of them were invented by the author based on place names or borrowed from his own time. Both those in charters and the *Gesta* are inconsistent in their spelling. In the course of the two hundred years of scholarly study of this text, a certain convention (not without doubts and disagreements among experts) has emerged in Hungarian historiography, and we have followed it. Some of the spellings (mostly based on linguistic study) have been revised in the last decades, and we have taken those suggestions into consideration. Readers having

⁵² Erik Fügedi, *The Elefánthy: The Hungarian Nobleman and His Kindred*, ed. Damir Karbić (Budapest–New York: CEU Press, 1998). The problem of continuity between the ancient clans of the "Conquest Age" and the kindreds known from the twelfth–thirteenth century (and beyond) is a moot point and needs not to detain us here.

the parallel Latin text on the left hand page may decide to accept or reject our constructions. (The variants can be easily compared in the Index of Names, pp. 243–50 below). None the less, it has to be admitted that no one is sure about the “original” form of most of the names, if they ever existed outside the imagination of Anonymus.

As to geographical names—as discussed above, a significant element in the whole work—we have chosen to be pragmatic. Without going into the controversies over the one or the other toponym, we accepted the most convincing reconstruction and have sought to identify it with a name appearing on a modern map. Quite a few of these are, admittedly, uncertain, but Hungarian historians and archaeologists have applied so much attention to this text that we had plenty of suggestions to choose from. CEMT policy is to print geographical names in their present-day official—or usual Anglicized—form. This may sound anachronistic, but considering that in our own time the Carpathian Basin is divided between several states each with its official language, only this procedure allows readers to find the location on any good map. (The different versions of the place names are listed in the Gazetteer, pp. 263–8; and a map on the front endpaper, using Anonymus’s spelling, gives some indication of the approximate location of most of them.)



The Statue of Anonymus in the City Park of Budapest
(Miklós Ligeti, 1903)

INCIPIT PROLOGUS IN GESTA HUNGARORUM^a

[SRH, 33] P dictus^b magister ac quondam bone memorie gloriosissimi Bele regis Hungarie notarius¹ N suo *dilectissimo amico, viro venerabili et arte litteralis scientie inbuto*,² *salutem et sue petitionis effectum*.^c Dum olim in scolari studio simul essemus et in hystoria Troiana, *quam ego cum summo amore complexus ex libris Darethis Frigii*⁴ ceterorumque auctorum,⁵ sicut a magistris meis audiveram, *in unum volumen* proprio stilo *compilaveram*, pari voluntate legeremus, petisti a me, ut, sicut hystoriam Troianam bellaque Grecorum scripseram, ita et genealogiam regum Hungarie et nobilium suorum, qualiter septem principales persone, que Hetumoger⁶ vocantur, de terra Scithica descenderunt vel qualis sit terra Scithica et qualiter sit generatus dux Almus⁷ aut quare vocatur Almus primus dux Hungarie, a quo reges Hungarorum originem duxerunt, vel quot regna et reges sibi subiugaverunt aut quare populus de terra Scithica egressus per ydioma alienigenarum Hungarii et in sua lingua propria Mogerii vocantur, tibi scriberem. *Promisi* etenim^d *me facturum*, sed aliis *negotiis impeditus* et *tue petitionis*^e et mee *promissionis* iam pene eram oblitus, nisi mihi *per litteras tua dilectio debitum reddere monuisset*. Me-

^a Hungarum *Ms*

^b *sic Ms, sine puncto*. P <re>dictus *Silagi*; P. dictus *SRH, Juhász*

^c affectum *Ms*

^d et *Ms add.*

^e petitionis *Ms corr.*

¹ On the unknown identity of the author, see above, XIX seq.

² Nothing is known about N, if he existed at all. This clause and several others in the Prologue (such as writing for a friend, apology for delay, arguing for the need of remembrance) are commonplaces usual in introductory passages (exordial *topoi*).

³ Here and below see Hugo Bononiensis, *Rationes dictandi prosaice*, pp. 53, 63–4, 84–6.

HERE BEGINS THE PROLOGUE TO THE DEEDS OF THE HUNGARIANS

P who is called master, and sometime notary of the most glorious Béla, king of Hungary of fond memory,¹ to *the venerable man N his most dear friend steeped in the knowledge of letters*:² *Greetings, and the answer to his plea*.³ When we were together at school reading with common purpose the story of Troy that I had *brought most lovingly together into one volume* from the books of Dares Phrygius⁴ and other authors,⁵ in suitable style, as I was taught by my masters, you asked me that, in the same way as I had written on the history of Troy and on the wars of the Greeks, so to write for you of the genealogy of the kings of Hungary and of their noblemen: how the seven leading persons, who are called the Hetumoger,⁶ came down from the Scythian land, what that Scythian land was like and how Prince Álmos⁷ was begotten and why Álmos, from whom the kings of Hungary trace their origin, is called the first prince of Hungary, and how many realms and rulers they conquered and why the people coming forth from the Scythian land are called Hungarians in the speech of foreigners but Magyars in their own. *I did indeed promise* that I would do so, but *hindered by other matters*, I might have almost entirely forgotten *your request and my promise*, had not *your*

⁴ See above, p. XXIX. For the sake of economy, we will mark by italics, but not specify in every case, the borrowings from these.

⁵ E.g., the *Excidium Troiae*, see above, n. 34, p. XXX.

⁶ Literally, ‘the seven Hungarians.’ Constantine Porphyrogenitus (DAI, ch. 38, pp. 170–1) confirms that the tribes of the Hungarians were seven in number. Throughout the text, the seven leaders are referred to as *principales persone* (which may be a borrowing from canon law, see, e.g., *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, vol. 2 Greg IX, Lib. 2, Tit. 1, c. xiv [col. 245], or Tit. VII. C.1 [col. 265], &c.). Incidentally, the ‘Seven Hungarians’ may have been the name of the tribal alliance; such appellations were common among steppe people, for example the name Onogur—a ‘people’ to which the Magyars belonged in the seventh-ninth centuries—means ‘the ten Ogurs’.

⁷ On the problem of translating *dux*, see above, p. XXXVI.

mor igitur tue dilectionis, quamvis multis et diversis huius laboriosi seculi *impeditus sim negotiis*, facere tamen aggressus sum, que facere iussisti, et secundum traditiones diversorum hystoriographorum divine gratie fultus auxilio optimum estimans, ut ne posteris in ultimam generationem oblivioni tradatur. *Optimum ergo duxi, ut vere et simpliciter* tibi scriberem, *quod legentes possint agnoscere, quomodo res geste essent*.¹ Et si tam nobilissima gens Hungarie primordia sue generationis et forcia queque facta sua ex falsis fabulis rusticorum [SRH, 34] vel a garrulo cantu ioculatorum quasi sompniando audiret, valde indecorum et satis indecens² esset.³ Ergo potius an non^a de certa Scripturarum explanatione et aperta hystoriarum interpretatione rerum veritatem nobiliter percipiat. Felix igitur Hungaria, cui sunt dona data varia, omnibus enim horis gaudeat de munere sui litteratoris,⁴ quia exordium genealogie regum suorum et nobilium habet, de quibus regibus sit laus et honor regi eterno et sancte Marie matri eius, per gratiam cuius reges Hungarie et nobiles regnum habeant felici fine hic et in evum. Amen.

I. DE SCITHIA.⁵

Scithia igitur maxima terra est, que Dentumoger⁶ dicitur, versus orientem, finis cuius ab aquilonali parte *extenditur* usque ad Nigrum Pontum.⁷ *A tergo* autem habet *flumen*, quod dicitur *Thanais*,

^a *āmo Ms. anon Juhász: ammodo Silagi.*

¹ Dares, Preface, p. 1.

² *indecens et indecorum* was an often used formula in letters, probably of rhetorical or canonical origin; see, e.g., MGH, *Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, Vol. 5, *Briefsammlungen der Zeit Heinrichs IV*, ed. Carl Erdmann and Norbert Fickermann (Hanover: Hahn 1950), p. 61.

³ In the notary's time, there was increased concern about the "authenticity" of reports of the past as passed on by minstrels. So, for example, Count Baudoin V of Hainaut (1171–92) ordered a search for a "reliable" record about Charlemagne—and found the so-called Pseudo-Turpin chronicle; see Bernard Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique dans l'Occident medieval*, Collection historique (Paris: Aubier-Montaigne, 1980), p. 110. See also Paul Magdalino, ed., *The Perceptions of the Past in Twelfth-Century Europe* (London: Hambledon Press, 1992).

kindness admonished me in a letter to discharge the debt. Mindful therefore of your kindness, and although *hindered by* the many and various *affairs* of this wearisome world, I have undertaken to do your bidding, following the example of diverse historians, supported by the help of God's grace; seeing this as best lest it be lost to posterity forever, *I considered it best* that I should write to you *truthfully and plainly*, so that *readers can know exactly what happened*.¹ It would be most *unworthy* and completely *unfitting*² for the so most noble people of Hungary to hear as if in sleep of the beginnings of their kind and of their bravery and deeds from the false stories of peasants and the gabbling song of minstrels.³ May they not more nobly perceive the truth of matters from the sure explanation of Scripture and the straightforward exposition of historical accounts? Glad thus is Hungary made, by the gifts to her conveyed, and should rejoice all hours in the gift of her men of letters,⁴ because she has now [a record of] the beginning of her line of kings and noblemen, for which kings shall be praise and honor to the King Eternal and the holy Mary, His mother, through whose grace the kings of Hungary and noblemen have the kingdom for happy purpose here and ever after. Amen.

1 SCYTHIA⁵

Scythia is then a very great land, called Dentumoger,⁶ over towards *the east*, the end of which *reaches* from the north to the Black Sea.⁷ *On the far side*, it has *a river* with great *marshes*, called the *Don*,

⁴ The first part of this sentence is in rhymed prose.

⁵ The account of Scythia given here ultimately derives from Justin's *Epitoma historiarum Philippicarum*, 2.1—*M. Iuviani Iustini Epitoma Historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi*, ed. Otto Seel (Leipzig: Teubner, 1972), pp. 18–9—and the *Exordia Scythica*—MGH AA, vol. 11/2, ed. Theodor Mommsen, pp. 308–22 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1984)—mediated through Regino, ad a. 889 (pp. 131–2).

⁶ The origin of this word—for both the legendary ancestral land and its inhabitants—is unclear. Its first part may refer to the River Don and the second to the name of the Magyars. Simon of Kéza and the Hungarian Chronicle have Dentia and Mogoria as two of the three parts of Scythia.

⁷ On the term 'Black Sea,' see above, p. XXIII.

cum *paludibus* magnis, ubi ultra modum habundanter inveniuntur zobolini¹ ita, quod non solum nobiles et ignobiles vestiuntur inde, verum etiam bubulci et subbulci ac opiliones sua decorant vestimenta^a in terra illa. Nam ibi habundat *aurum et argentum* et inveniuntur in fluminibus terre illius preciosi *lapides et gemme*. Ab orientali vero parte vicina Scithie fuerunt gentes *Gog et Magog*,² quos inclusit Magnus Alexander.³ Scithica autem terra *multum patula in longitudine et* [SRH, 35] *latitudine*, *homines* vero, qui *habitant eam*, vulgariter Dentumoger dicuntur usque in hodiernum diem et *nullius*^b umquam *imperatoris* potestate subacti fuerunt. *Scithici* enim sunt *antiquiores*⁴ *populi* et est potestas⁵ Scithie in oriente, ut supra diximus. Et primus rex Scithie fuit *Magog filius Iaphet*⁶ et gens illa a Magog rege vocata est Moger,⁷ a cuius etiam progenie regis descendit nominatissimus atque potentissimus rex Athila,⁸ qui anno dominice incarnationis CCCC^o L^o I^o de terra Scithica descendens *cum valida manu* in terram Pannonie¹⁰ venit et fugatis Romanis regnum obtinuit et regalem sibi locum constituit iuxta^c Danubium super Calidas Aquas¹¹ et omnia antiqua opera, que ibi

^a vestimeta *Ms*

^b nullus *Ms corr.*

^c iux *Ms*

¹ It is interesting that the author called this animal and its fur (also below, pp. 29 and 41) *zobolini*, apparently from the Russian *sobol*, while elsewhere in medieval Latin it is called *sabellum*.

² Rev. 20.7; Isidore of Seville (*Etym.* 14.4.150 and 9.3.402).

³ See Andrew Runni Anderson, *Alexander's Gate, Gog and Magog, and the Inclosed Nations* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1932).

⁴ Justin had discussed the Egyptians before writing about the Scythians (2.1, p. 18); hence the adjective "more" ancient.

⁵ *Potestas* is a textual corruption; the *Exordia* (p. 319) has *posita* ('located').

⁶ Magog is mentioned as *filius Japhet* in Gen. 10.2. Japhet is either the eldest or youngest son of Noah (the Book of Genesis gives both) and father of Magog. According to Isidore of Seville (*Etym.* 9.2.26-37), all the peoples of Europe were Japhet's descendants, with Magog being the specific progenitor of the Scythians and Goths.

where sables¹ can be found in such extraordinary abundance that in that land not only nobles and commoners dress in them but also with which even ox-herds, swine-herds and shepherds adorn their raiment. *Gold and silver* abound there and in the rivers of this land *precious stones and gems* are found. On its eastern side, neighboring Scythia, were the peoples *Gog and Magog*,² whom Alexander the Great had walled in.³ Scythia is *very extensive in its length and breadth and the men who dwell there*, commonly called Dentumoger, have right up to the present day never been subject to the sway of *any emperor*. *The Scythians are a more ancient people*⁴ and the power⁵ of Scythia is in the east, as we said above. The first king of Scythia was *Magog, son of Japhet*,⁶ and this people were called after him Magyar,⁷ from whose royal line the most renowned and mighty King Attila⁸ descended, who, in the year of Our Lord's incarnation 451,⁹ coming down from Scythia, entered Pannonia¹⁰ *with a mighty force* and, putting the Romans to flight, took the realm and made a royal residence for himself beside the Danube above the hot springs,¹¹ and he ordered all the old buildings

⁷ Anonymus is alone in deriving the Hungarians' name from Magog. Other chronicles construed an ancestor called Magor/Mogor (Simon of Kéza, pp. 15, 25; SRH vol. 1, p. 249, &c.).

⁸ From the extensive literature on the Attila tradition see, e.g., Martyn Rady, "Recollecting Attila: Some medieval Hungarian images and their antecedents," *Central Europe* 1 (2003), pp. 5-17. It is to be noted that despite including Attila in the genealogy of the dynasty, Anonymus—unlike the other chroniclers—did not connect the Huns to the Hungarians.

⁹ The single correct date in the *Gesta*, although not of Attila's arrival in Pannonia but of his most famous battle on the fields of Catalaunum.

¹⁰ The author used (like many other medieval writers) the name of the Roman province, Pannonia, for Hungary. However, the notary knew the precise meaning of the term, i.e. Hungary south and west of the Danube, and so applied the term more specifically to that region (see below, ch. 47, p. 103).

¹¹ Anonymus here (as elsewhere with Hungarian names) translated the name Buda-felhéviz, a village in the north of present-day Buda(pest), still a centre of hot springs and baths.

invenit,¹ renovari precepit et in circuitu muro fortissimo edificavit, que per linguam Hungaricam dicitur nunc Buduvar² et a Teothonicis Ecilburgu³ vocatur. Quid plura? Iter hystorie teneamus. Longo autem post tempore de progenie eiusdem regis Magog descendit Ugek⁴ pater Almi ducis, a quo reges et duces Hungarie originem duxerunt, sicut in sequentibus dicitur. *Scithici* enim, sicut diximus, [SRH, 36] sunt *antiquiores populi*, de quibus hystoriographi, qui gesta^a Romanorum scripserunt, sic dicunt: Quod Scithica *gens fuisset^b sapientissima et mansueta^c*, qui terram *non laborabant* et fere *nullum peccatum erat inter eos*. *Non enim habebant domos* artificio paratas, *sed tantum tentoria^d* de filtro parata.⁵ *Carnes et pisces et lac et mel manducabant et pigmenta multa habebant*. *Vestiti enim erant de pellibus zobolorum et aliarum ferarum*. *Aurum et argentum et gemmas habebant sicut lapides*, quia in fluminibus eiusdem terre inveniebantur. *Non concupiscebant aliena, quia omnes divites erant, habentes animalia multa et victualia sufficienter*. *Non erant enim fornicatores, sed solummodo unusquisque suam habebat uxorem*. *Postea vero iam dicta gens* fatigata in bello ad tantam crudelitatem pervenit, ut quidam dicunt hystoriographi, quod iracundia ducti *humanam manducassent carnem et sanguinem bibissent* hominum.⁶ Et credo, quod adhuc eos cognoscetis, duram gentem fu-

^a gasta *Ms corr.*

^b fuissent *Ms*

^c Scithici...sapientissimi...mansueti *Ms corr.*

^d temptoria *Ms corr.*

¹ The ruins of Aquincum, the capital of Pannonia Inferior, may have been visible in the author's time and the amphitheatre, the foundations of which still survive, must have made quite an impression on medieval spectators.

² Budavár, i.e. "Buda castle," is a problematic form, as the castle on Buda hill was not built before the Mongol invasion in 1241. The -burg ending in the German name may have induced the author to describe as a "castle" the royal residence in the area of Roman Aquincum, at the time called Buda, and later Óbuda, *Buda Vetus*, in distinction to the new castle.

³ Etzelburg features as Attila's residence in the Nibelungenlied—see *Das Nibelungenlied. Mittelhochdeutsch / Neuhochdeutsch*, nach dem Text von Karl Bartsch und

that he found there¹ to be restored and he built a circular and very strong wall, and in the Hungarian language it is now called Budavár² and by the Germans Etzelburg.³ What more? Let us keep to the story. A long time after, there descended from the progeny of the same King Magog, Ügek,⁴ father of Prince Álmos, from whom the princes and kings of Hungary trace their origin, as will be said in what follows. The *Scythians*, as we said, *are a more ancient people*, of whom historians writing of the deeds of the Romans said as follows: That the Scythian people *were most wise and gentle*; they *did not work the soil nor barely knew any sin among them*. And *they did not have homes* built by craft but rather tents made of felt.⁵ *They ate meat and fish and milk and honey and they had much spice. And their clothes were of the pelts of sables and other wild beasts. They held gold, silver and gems as common as stones*, which they found in the rivers of this land. *They desired no one else's goods, for they were all rich, having many animals and sufficient victuals. And there were no adulterers, for every man kept only his wife*. But, later, *this people*, worn out in war, became, as some historians tell, so cruel that they *ate in wrath human flesh and drank the blood* of humans.⁶ And I believe that you may still know a hardy nation by its fruits.

Helmut de Boor ins Neuhochdeutsche übersetzt und kommentiert von Siegfried Grosse, Universal-Bibliothek, 644 (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam jun, 1997), p. 416, avt. 22, 1379,1—although its location—whether in Buda or Esztergom—is debated. The *Kaiserchronik* (ca. 1147), however, recorded that Attila was buried in Buda (Ofen); see MGH Dt Chr. I, 1, p. 237.

⁴ For the form (spelling etc.) of personal names, see above, p. XXXVIII. The name Ügek may have some connection to the old Hungarian root *igy~ügy* meaning 'holy, venerable.'

⁵ Anonymus added here to Regino's description the specification "made of felt." He may have been familiar with such tents in which the Hungarians of the twelfth century lived, at least during parts of the year; see *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa by Otto of Freising and his Continuator Rahewin*, trans. and ed. Charles Christopher Mierow (New York: Norton, 1953), p. 66.

⁶ This addition about the cannibalism of the Scythians reached Anonymus through Regino (ad a. 889, p. 133), who elaborated on Isidore of Seville's brief remark, *Etym.* 14.3.32.

isse de fructibus eorum. Scithica enim gens *a nullo imperatore* fuit subiugata. Nam *Darium regem* Persarum *cum magna turpitudine* Scithici *fecerunt fugere et perdidit ibi Darius octoginta milia hominum et sic cum magno timore fugit in Persas*. Item Scithici *Cirum^a regem Persarum cum trecentis et XXX milibus* hominum occiderunt. Item Scithici *Alexandrum Magnum* filium Phylippi regis et regine Olympiadis, *qui multa regna pugnando sibi subiugaverat, ipsum etiam turpiter fugaverunt*. Gens namque Scithica dura erat ad sustinendum omnem laborem et erant corpore magni Scithici et fortes in bello. Nam nichil habuissent in mundo, quod perdere timuissent pro illata sibi iniuria. Quando enim Scithici victoriam habebant, nichil de preda volebant, ut moderni de posteris suis,¹ sed tantummodo laudem exinde querebant. Et absque Dario et [SRH, 37] Cyro atque Alexandro nulla gens ausa fuit in mundo in terram illorum intrare. Predicta vero Scithica gens dura erat ad pugnandum et super equos veloces et capita in galeis tenebant et arcu ac sagittis meliores erant super omnes nationes mundi et sic cognoscetis eos fuisse de posteris eorum. Scithica enim terra quanto a torrida zona remotior est, tanto propagandis generibus salubrior. Et quamvis admodum sit spatiosa, tamen multitudinem populorum inibi generatorum nec alere sufficiebat, nec capere.² Quapropter septem principales persone, qui Hetumoger dicti sunt, angusta locorum non sufferentes ea maxime devitare cogitabant. Tunc hee^b septem principales persone habito inter se consilio constituerunt, ut ad occupandas sibi terras, quas incolere possent, a natali discederent solo, sicut in consequentibus dicitur.

^a Circum *Ms* corr.

^b hii *Ms* corr.

¹ In contrast to many contemporary authors, Anonymus did not normally include criticism of his own times through the device of praising the conduct of previous generations. This is the one instance where he does so, and it owes much to Justin 2.3–4.

The Scythian people were never subjugated by *any emperor*. For the Scythians *made Darius, king of the Persians, flee with the greatest ignominy, and Darius lost there 80,000 men and so fled in great fear to Persia*. Then, the Scythians *slew Cyrus, king of Persia, with 330,000 men*. Then, the Scythians *put to base flight even Alexander the Great himself*, the son of King Philip and Queen Olympias, *who had conquered many kingdoms in war*. The Scythian race was hardy so as to endure all toil and the Scythians were big in body and bold in war. And there is nothing in the world that they would not give up to revenge an injury done to them. And when the Scythians had a victory, they wished nothing of booty, as do their posterity today,¹ but sought only praise for it. And except for Darius, Cyrus and Alexander, no people in the world dared enter their land. The aforesaid Scythian people were hardy in combat and, on speedy mounts and with helmeted heads, they were better with bows and arrows than all the other nations of the world, and you will know this to be so from their offspring. For the Scythian land, as much as it is distant from the tropics, is the more healthy for generating offspring. And although spacious enough, it was still insufficient to sustain or hold the host of peoples begotten there.² On account of this, the seven leading persons, who are called the Hetumoger, not tolerating the pressures of space, thought very greatly of a solution. Then these seven leading persons, having taken counsel together, decided that they should forsake the soil of their birth and take for themselves such lands as they could inhabit, as will be said in what follows.

² Overpopulation as reason for migration was a commonplace in medieval histories, see, e.g., Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, I, 1, 52–3. Paul gives the explanation of overpopulation for the movement of the Goths, Vandals and Lombards, which Regino borrowed from Paul to explain the migration of the Scythians, and Anonymus here follows Regino (ad a. 889). See Simon MacLean, *History and Politics in Late Carolingian and Ottonian Europe: The Chronicle of Regino of Prüm and Adalbert of Magdeburg* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2009), p. 204.

II. QUARE HUNGARI DICITUR.

Nunc restat dicere, quare populus de terra Scithica egressus Hungari vocantur. Hungari dicti sunt a castro Hungu¹ eo, quod subiugatis sibi Sclavis VII principales persone intrantes terram Pannonie diutius ibi morati sunt. Unde omnes nationes circumiacentes vocabant Almus filium Ugek ducem de Hungar et suos milites vocabant Hungaros.² Quid plura? His omissis redeamus ad propositum opus, iterque hystorie teneamus et, ut Spiritus Sanctus dictaverit, inceptum opus perficiamus. [SRH, 38]

III. DE ALMO PRIMO DUCE.

Anno dominice incarnationis DCCC° XVIII° Ugek, sicut supra diximus, longo post tempore de genere Magog regis erat quidam nobilissimus dux Scithie, qui duxit sibi uxorem in Dentumoger filiam Eunedubeliani³ ducis, nomine Emesu,⁴ de qua genuit filium, qui agnominatus est Almus. Sed ab eventu divino est nominatus Almus, quia matri eius pregnantis per sompnum apparuit divina visio in forma asturis, que quasi veniens eam gravidavit et innotuit ei, quod de utero eius egrederetur torrens et de lumbis eius reges

¹ Hungarian Ungvár, today Užhorod, Ukraine. We have retained here exceptionally the original spelling as the word play on Hung - Hungarian would otherwise have been lost.

² As usual, the author tries to explain a name from a toponym. Simon of Kéza (p. 79) changed the reference to the Ung River. In fact, the Latin (and other western) name for the Magyars came from their having been part of the Onogur tribal alliance, but the notary could not have known that. On the names of the Magyars in the sources, see András Róna Tas, *Hungarians and Europe in the Early Middle Ages: An Introduction to Early Hungarian History* (Budapest and New York: Central European Press, 1999), pp. 282–7, 340–1.

³ This strange name may be a combination of the names Enech, Dula and Belar, who feature as wives of the ancestors of the Magyars in Simon of Kéza (pp. 16–7). Such

2 WHY THEY ARE CALLED HUNGARIANS

It now remains to say why the people who set forth from the Scythian land are called Hungarians. The Hungarians are so called from the castle of Hung¹ where the seven leading persons, having subjugated the Slavs, tarried for a time upon entering the land of Pannonia. On account of this, all the nations round about called Álmos, son of Ügek, the prince of Hungar and they called his warriors Hungarians.² What more? Passing over these matters, we shall return to our task, keep to our story, and, as the Holy Spirit commands, finish the work begun.

3 ÁLMOS, THE FIRST PRINCE

In the year of Our Lord's incarnation 819, Ügek, who, as we said above, being of the kindred of King Magog became a long time later a most noble prince of Scythia, took to wife in Denumoger the daughter of Prince Eunedubelian,³ called Emese,⁴ from whom he begot a son, who was named Álmos. But he is called Álmos from a divine event, because when she was pregnant a divine vision appeared to his mother in a dream in the form of a falcon that seemed to come to her and impregnate her and made known to her that from her womb a torrent would come forth and from her

conflations are not rare, see, e.g., Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia regum Britanniae*, ed. R.E. Jones (London: Longmans, 1929), pp. 249–51. Anonymus does not seem to have known of the tradition of a primeval raid on women by the legendary ancestors of the Magyars as told by Simon of Kéza (*ibid.*).

⁴ The name may go back to an old Hungarian word for 'mother' or 'dam.' She is not named in other narratives. Anonymus here may have recorded an early Hungarian myth of *origo gentis*—the union of a woman with the totem of a falcon—but he "cleansed" the story by making Emese already pregnant and adding the word *quasi* 'as if' ("...seemed to..."). For a similar tradition among steppe people, see István Vásáry, "History and legend in Berke Khan's Conversion to the Islam," in *Aspects of Altaic Civilization III*, ed. Denis Sinor (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), pp. 230–52.

gloriosi propagarentur, sed non in sua multiplicarentur terra. Quia ergo sompnium in lingua Hungarica dicitur *almu* et illius ortus per sompnium fuit pronosticatus^a, ideo ipse vocatus est Almus. Vel ideo vocatus est Almus, id est sanctus, quia ex progenie eius sancti reges et duces erant nascituri.¹ Quid ultra? [SRH, 39]

IV. DE DUCE ALMO.

Dux autem Almus, postquam *natus est in mundum*,² factum est duci Ugek et suis cognatis *gaudium magnum*³ et fere omnibus primatibus Scithie eo, quod pater suus Ugek erat de genere Magog regis. Erat enim ipse Almus facie decorus, sed niger, et nigros habebat oculos, sed magnos, statura longus et gracilis, manus vero habebat grossas et digitos prolixos⁴ et erat ipse Almus pius benivolutus, largus, sapiens,⁵ bonus miles, *hylaris dator*⁶ omnibus illis, qui in regno Scithie^b tunc tempore erant milites. Cum autem ipse Almus pervenisset ad maturam etatem, velut^c *donum Spiritus Sancti* erat in eo, licet paganus,⁷ tamen potentior fuit et sapientior omnibus ducibus Scithie et omnia negotia regni eo tempore faciebant consilio et auxilio⁸ ipsius. Dux autem Almus, dum ad maturam etatem iuventutis pervenisset, duxit sibi uxorem in eadem terra, filiam cuiusdam nobilissimi ducis,⁹ de qua genuit filium nomine Arpad, quem secum duxit in Pannoniam, ut in sequentibus dicetur.

^a pronosticatum, *ex* pronosticum *Ms corr.*

^b Scithice *Ms*

^c velut *SRH, Silagi*, ū *Ms* (i.e. unde).

¹ The author alludes here to the Latin adjective, *almus*, which also conveyed the meaning of *sanctus* or *pius*. Neither of his etymologies are convincing. The holy kings are King Stephen I, his son Emeric (canonized in 1083), and St Ladislas (canonized in 1192).

² John 16. 21.

³ Here and many times further down: Acts 8. 9.

⁴ The description owes much to the wording of Dares Phrygius (12, pp. 14–6).

loins glorious kings be generated, but that they would not multiply in their own land. Because a dream is called *álom* in the Hungarian language and his birth was predicted in a dream, so he was called Álmos. Or he was called Álmos, that is holy, because holy kings and dukes were born of his line.¹ What more?

4 PRINCE ÁLMOS

Prince Álmos, after he was *born into the world*,² brought *great joy*³ to Prince Ügek and his kinsmen and to almost all the leading men of Scythia because his father Ügek was of the kindred of King Magog. For Álmos himself was handsome of face, but of dark skin, and he had dark eyes, but big ones; tall and lean in stature, he had indeed large hands and long fingers⁴; and this Álmos was kind, benevolent, generous, resourceful,⁵ a good warrior, and a *cheerful giver*⁶ to all those who were at that time warriors in the Scythian realm. When this Álmos came to full age, as if the *gift of the Holy Spirit* was in him, although he was a pagan,⁷ he became yet more powerful and wiser than all the princes of Scythia and they conducted all the business of the realm at that time with his aid and counsel.⁸ Prince Álmos, when he came to full age of youth, took a wife in that land, the daughter of a certain most noble prince,⁹ from whom he begot a son by the name of Árpád, whom he took with him into Pannonia, as will be said in the following.

⁵ The word *sapiens* is used in this sense e.g. for the leaders of the Crusade in *The deeds of the Franks and the other pilgrims to Jerusalem*, ed. Rosalind M. T. Hill (Oxford: OUP, 1972), p. xviii.

⁶ 2 Cor 9.7

⁷ On the pagan Hungarians' divine support, see above, p. XXVI.

⁸ These terms were very common in medieval legal (especially so-called feudal) documents across the centuries. About their early occurrence, see A. J. Devisse, "Essai sur l'histoire d'une expression qui a fait fortune: *consilium et auxilium* aux IX^e siècle," *Moyen Age* 74 (1968), pp. 179–205.

⁹ Not recording the name and/or family of wives—as here and below, pp. 113, 127—was general practice in Hungarian charters, on account of the strictly agnatic rule of inheritance.

V. DE ELECTIONE ALMI DUCIS.

Gens itaque Hungarorum fortissima et bellorum laboribus potentissima, ut superius diximus, de gente Scithica, que per ydium suum proprium Dentumoger dicitur, duxit originem. Et terra illa nimis erat plena ex multitudine populorum inibi generatorum. ut nec alere suos sufficeret, nec capere, ut supra diximus. Quapropter tunc VII principales persone, qui Hetumoger vocantur [SRH, 40] usque in hodiernum diem, angusta locorum non sufferentes habito inter se consilio, ut a natali solo discederent, ad occupandas sibi terras, quas incolere possent, armis et bello querere non cessarunt. Tunc elegerunt sibi querere terram Pannonie, quam audiverant fama volante terram Athile regis esse, de cuius progenie¹ dux Almus pater Arpad descenderat. Tunc ipsi VII principales persone communi et vero consilio intellexerunt, quod inceptum iter perficere non possent, nisi *ducem ac preceptorem*² super se habeant. Ergo libera voluntate et communi consensu VII virorum elegerunt sibi *ducem ac preceptorem* in filios filiorum suorum usque ad ultimam generationem Almus filium Ugek et, qui de eius generatione descenderent, quia Almus dux filius Ugek et, qui de generatione eius descenderant, clariores erant genere et potentiores in bello. Isti enim VII principales persone erant viri nobiles genere et potentes in bello, fide stabiles. Tunc pari voluntate Almo duci sic dixerunt: Ex hodierna die te nobis *ducem ac preceptorem* eligimus et quo fortuna tua te duxerit, illuc te sequemur. Tunc supradicti viri pro Almo duce more paganismo fuis propriis sanguinibus in unum vas ratum fecerunt iuramentum.³ Et licet pagani fuissent, fidem tamen iuramenti, quam tunc fecerant inter se, usque ad obitum ipsorum servaverunt tali modo.

¹ The phrase “*de cuius progenie*,” repeated several times in the *Gesta*, may derive from a chancery formula.

² Is. 55.4 and elsewhere in the Bible.

³ While such rites are well known among nomadic peoples—see Harry Tegnaeus, *Blood-brothers* (Stockholm: Philosophical Library, 1952); Klaus Oschema, “Blood-brothers: A Ritual of Friendship and the Construction of the Imagined Barbarian in the Middle Ages,” *Journal of Medieval Studies* 32 (2006), pp. 275–301—it is un-

5 THE ELECTION OF PRINCE ÁLMOS

The Hungarian people, most valiant and most powerful in the tasks of war thus originated, as we said above, from the Scythian people that are called in their own language Dentumoger. And their land was so full on account of the host of people born there that it was insufficient to sustain or keep them, as we said above. On account of this, the seven leading persons, who right up to the present day are called the Hetumoger, not tolerating the pressures of space, having taken counsel among themselves to quit the soil of their birth, did not cease seeking by arms and war to occupy lands that they might live in. Then they chose to seek for themselves the land of Pannonia that they had heard from rumor had been the land of King Attila, from whose line Prince Álmos, father of Árpád, descended.¹ Then these seven leading persons realized from their common and true counsel that they could not complete the journey begun unless they had *a leader and a master*² above them. Thus, by the free will and common consent of the seven leading persons, they chose as their *leader and master*, and of the sons of their sons to the last generation, Álmos, son of Ügek, and those who descended from his kin, because Prince Álmos was the son of Ügek, and those who descended from his kin were more outstanding by birth and more powerful in battle. These seven leading persons were noble by birth, strong in war, and firm in their faithfulness. Then they said with equal will to Prince Álmos: "From today we choose you as *leader and master* and where your fortune takes you, there will we follow you." Then on behalf of Prince Álmos the aforesaid men swore an oath, confirmed in pagan manner with their own blood spilled in a single vessel.³ And, although pagans, they nevertheless kept true to the oath that they now made among themselves, until they died.

clear whence Anonymus may have heard or read about it. A similar blood-mingling ceremony is reported in 1250 as having taken place between a Cuman king and Emperor Baldwin II; see Joinville and Villehardouin, *Chronicles of the Crusades*, ed. M. R. B. Shaw (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1963), pp. 289–90. See also Maurice Keen, "Brotherhood in Arms," *History* 47 (1962), pp. 1–17.

VI. DE IURAMENTO EORUM.

Primus status iuramenti sic fuit : Ut, quamdiu vita duraret tam ipsis quam etiam posteris suis semper ducem haberent de progenie Almi ducis. Secundus status iuramenti sic fuit: Ut, quicquid boni per labores eorum acquirere possent, nemo eorum expers fieret. Tercius status iuramenti sic fuit: Ut isti principales [SRH, 41] persone, qui sua libera voluntate Almus sibi dominum elegerant, quod ipsi et filii eorum nunquam a consilio ducis et honore regni omnino privarentur. Quartus status iuramenti sic fuit: Ut, si quis de posteris eorum infidelis fieret contra personam ducalem et discordiam faceret inter ducem et cognatos suos, sanguis nocentis funderetur^a, sicut sanguis eorum fuit fusus in iuramento, quod fecerunt Almo duci. Quintus status iuramenti sic fuit: Ut, si quis de posteris ducis Almi et aliarum personarum principalium iuramenti statuta^b ipsorum infringere voluerit^c, anathemati subiaceat in perpetuum.¹ Quorum VII virorum nomina hec fuerunt: Almus pater Arpad, Eleud pater Zobolsu, a quo genus Saac descendit,² Cundu pater Curzan, Ound pater Ete, a quo genus Calan et Colsoy descendit, Tosu pater Lelu, Huba, a quo genus Zemera descendit,³ VII^{us} Tuhutum⁴ pater Horca, cuius filii fuerunt Gyyla et Zombor, a quibus genus Moglout descendit, ut inferius dicitur.⁵ Quid plura? Iter hystorie teneamus.

^a funderetur *Ms*

^b statuta *Ms*

^c *corr. ex noluerit Ms*

¹ The clauses of the legendary oath—with the guarantee of succession of the dynasty, of the property rights and retained political role of the great men, and the sanction for oath breaking—closely reflect the concerns of both the king and the aristocracy in the notary's time, see above p. XXV–VI.

² On the notion of kindred, see above, p. XXV ff.

³ See also below, n. 1, p. 73.

6 THEIR OATH

The first part of the oath was thus: That, as long as life remained, they and their descendants would always have a prince from the line of Prince Álmos. The second part of the oath was thus: That whatever goods they might acquire by their own efforts, none of them should be denied a share of them. The third part of the oath was thus: That those leading persons who by their free will had chosen Álmos as their lord, they and their sons, should never at all be excluded from the counsel of the prince and the honor of the realm. The fourth part of the oath was thus: That if any of their posterity should be unfaithful to the person of the prince and stir up discord between the prince and his kinsmen, then the blood of the guilty one should be shed, just as their own blood had been shed in the oath that they had made to Prince Álmos. The fifth part of the oath was thus: That if any of the posterity of Prince Álmos and of the other leading men should seek to breach parts of their oath, they should be put under an everlasting curse.¹ The names of the seven men were these: Álmos, father of Árpád; Előd, father of Szabolcs, from whom the Csák kindred descends²; Küнд, father of Kurszán; Óнд, father of Ete, from whom the Kalán and Kölçse kindreds descend; Tas, father of Lél; Huba, from whom the Szemere kindred descends³; and the seventh was Tétény,⁴ father of Horka, whose sons were Gyula and Zombor, from whom the Maglód kindred descend, as will be said below.⁵ What more? Let us keep to our story.

⁴ In recent Hungarian scholarship, *Tubutum* has been seen, on the basis of several such place names, as a peculiar spelling of Tétény. The descendants listed here are a strange mixture. *Horka* and *gyula* are known to have been the titles of dignitaries (see DAI ch. 40, pp. 178-9). In ch. 24 (below, p. 61) Gyula features as Tétény's late descendant, while the Maglód kindred is not otherwise known.

⁵ The names of the seven chieftains differ from those given in other chronicles. In Simon of Kéza (pp. 81-5) and the Hungarian Chronicle (SRH 1, 286-93), three "captains" are mentioned with the same names as those whom Anonymus named as sons of the "principal persons," four others have names partially known from later generations.

VII. DE EGRESSU EORUM.

Anno dominice incarnationis D CCC L XXXIII, sicut in annalibus continetur cronicis,¹ septem principales persone, qui Hetumoger vocantur, egressi sunt de terra Scithica^a versus occidentem, inter quos Almus dux filius Ugek de genere Magog regis, vir bone memorie dominus et consiliarius eorum una cum uxore sua et filio suo Arpad et duobus filiis Hulec avunculi sui, scilicet Zuard et Cadusa nec non cum multitudine magna populorum non numerata federatorum de eadem regione egressus est. Venientes autem dies plurimos per deserta loca et fluvium Etyl² super tulbou sedentes ritu paganismo transnataverunt³ et nunquam *viam civitatis vel habitaculi*⁴ invenerunt. Nec labores hominum [SRH, 42] comederunt, ut mos erat eorum,⁵ sed carnibus et piscibus vescebantur, donec in Rusciam, que Susudal⁶ vocatur, venerunt. Et iuvenes eorum fere cottidie erant in venatione, unde a die illo usque ad presens Hungarii sunt pre ceteris gentibus^b meliores in venatu. Et sic Almus dux cum omnibus suis venientes, terram intraverunt Ruscie, que vocatur Susudal.

VIII. DE RUTENIA.

Postquam autem ad partes Rutenorum pervenerunt, sine aliqua contradictione^{c,7} usque ad civitatem Kyev transierunt⁸ et, dum

^a Scithia *Ms*

^b generibus *Ms corr.*

^c contradicione *Ms*

¹ The reference here is to the annals of Regino of Prüm, *recte* 889 AD (p. 131).

² Deriving from the Turkic *ätıl* or *itıl*, meaning 'river'. Most probably the Volga is meant here.

³ The word *tulbou* is assumed to be of Turkish origin. This method of crossing rivers on inflated bags has been recorded for several nomadic peoples, e.g., in the case of the Cumans, by Niketas Choniates, *O city of Byzantium: Annals*, trans. Harry J. Magoulias (Detroit : Wayne State University Press, 1984), p. 54 (2.7). Anonymus may have seen Hungarians still practicing this technique.

7 THEIR DEPARTURE

In the year of Our Lord's incarnation 884, as is contained in the annals of chronicles,¹ the seven leading persons who are called the Hetumoger moved from the Scythian land towards the west. Among them, there marched Prince Álmos, son of Ügek, of the kindred of King Magog, a man of good repute, their lord and counselor, together with his wife and his son, Árpád, and the two sons of his uncle Hülek, namely Zovárd and Kadocsa, with a great and innumerable host of allied peoples from the same region. Advancing for very many days across empty places, they swam across the river Etil² sitting on leather bags in pagan manner³ and they never came across a *path leading to a city or house*.⁴ Nor did they consume of the toils of men, as was their custom,⁵ but ate meat and fish until they reached Russia which is called Suzdal'.⁶ And their young men hunted almost every day, whence from that day until now the Hungarians are better at hunting than other peoples. And so Prince Álmos and all his own came and entered Russia which is called Suzdal'.

8 RUS'

Arriving in the lands of the Rus', they reached the city of Kiev without any opposition⁷ and, as they passed by the city of Kiev,⁸ cross-

⁴ Cf. Ps. 106.4.

⁵ The sentence is not logical, as the "Scythians" were described earlier as not living from the fruits of the earth. The extant text may be corrupt.

⁶ The principality of Vladimir-Suzdal' was the most powerful state of Rus' in the twelfth to thirteenth centuries (though, of course, not in the ninth) and served in several respects as the precursor of Muscovy.

⁷ The usual chancery formula for records of institution into property.

⁸ The Russian Primary Hungarian Chronicle (*Povest' vremennykh let*, henceforth *PVL*) gives the date of the Hungarians passing Kiev as AD 898; see *The Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian text*, trans. and ed. Samuel Hazzard Cross and Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, [1953]), p. 147.

per civitatem Kyev transissent, fluvium Deneper transnavigando, voluerunt regnum Rutenorum sibi sibiugare. Tunc duces Rutenorum hoc intelligentes timuerunt valde eo, quod audiverant Almun ducem filium Ugek de genere Athile regis esse, cui proavi eorum annuatim tributa persolvebant. Attamen dux de Kyev^a convocatis omnibus primatibus suis habito inter se consilio elegerunt, ut pugnam promoverent contra Almun ducem et magis vellent mori in bello,¹ quam amitterent regna propria et subiugati essent sine sua sponte duci Almo. Statim dux de Kyev missis legatis VII duces Cumanorum suos fidelissimos amicos in adiutorium postulavit.² Tunc hii VII duces, quorum nomina hec fuerunt: Ed, Edumen^b, Etu, [SRH, 43] Bonger, Ousad pater Ursuur, Boyta, Ketel pater Olup-tulma³ non modica multitudo equitum insimul coadunata causa amicitie ducis de Kyev celerrimo cursu contra Almun ducem venerunt. Et dux de Kyev cum exercitu^c suo obviam processit eis et [SRH, 44] adiutorio Cumanorum armata multitudo contra Almun ducem venire ceperunt. Dux vero Almus, cuius adiutor erat Sanctus Spiritus, armis indutus ordinata acie *super equum^d suum sedendo ibat huc et illuc confortans suos milites et facto impetu stetit ante omnes suos et dixit eis: O Scythici⁴ et commilitones mei viri fortissimi, memores^e estote initium viarum vestrarum, quando dixistis, quod terram, quam incolere possetis, armis et bello quereretis. Ergo nolite turbari de multitudo Ruthenorum et Cumanorum, qui assimilantur nostris canibus. Nam canes statim, ut audiunt verba dominorum suorum, nonne in timorem vertuntur? Quia virtus non valet in multitudo populi, sed in fortitudine animi. An nescitis,*

^a Hyeu *Ms*

^b Edum *Ms*

^c exercitu *Ms*

^d equum *Ms*

^e memor *Ms corr.*

¹ 1 Mach 1.65 and *Historia Alexandri*, 1, p. 186 etc.

² The story of the Cumans joining the Magyars and of their proceeding together into the new homeland is one of the most puzzling pieces of the *Gesta*. On the Kipchak Cumans' early history see below n. 6–7, p. 137. They could have been known

ing the river Dnieper, they sought to conquer the realm of the Rus'. Then the princes of the Rus', learning of this, feared greatly because they had heard that Prince Álmos, son of Ügek, was of the line of King Attila, to whom their forefathers had annually paid tribute. Nevertheless, the prince of Kiev and all the leaders, having gathered and taken counsel among themselves, decided that they should do battle with Prince Álmos and that they preferred to die in war¹ than to forfeit their realms and be subjected against their will to Prince Álmos. Forthwith, the prince of Kiev, dispatching envoys, asked the seven dukes of the Cumans,² his most faithful friends, for help. Then these seven dukes, whose names were these—Ed, Edemen, Etu, Böngér, Ocsád, father of Örsúr, Vajta, and Ketel, father of Alap-tolma³—accompanied by no small host of horsemen, came most speedily against Prince Álmos for the sake of the prince of Kiev's friendship. And the prince of Kiev with his army advanced against them and supported by the Cumans began to oppose Prince Álmos with an armed host. But Prince Álmos, whose help was the Holy Spirit, attired with arms, his battle-line ordered, *went mounted on his horse, back and forth, encouraging his warriors and, as he stood with vigor before all his men he said to them: O Scythians,⁴ my fellow warriors and most brave men, be mindful of the start of your wanderings when you said that such land as you could inhabit you would take by arms and war. Do not therefore be troubled by the host of the Rus' and the Cumans, who are as our dogs. For do not dogs, when they hear the words of their masters, start to tremble? Because strength does not rest in the numbers of a people but in resolution of*

to Anonymus as they had moved by his time into the area southeast of the Carpathians, but why he introduced them into the narrative of the land-taking is an enigma. Cumans also appear (below, p. 29 ff.) as allies of Bulgarians; and Cumans did in fact settle in Bulgaria, see Robert Lee Wolff, "The 'Second Bulgarian Empire': Its Origin and History to 1204," *Speculum* 24 (1949), pp. 167–206.

³ The names listed by the author are, in fact, of Magyar origin or derived from Hungarian place names. Several of them are mentioned later in the text and named as the ancestors of noble lineages.

⁴ The address is modeled after the *Historia Alexandri* (1, pp. 8, 94, 166, &c.) and the *Exordia Scythica* (repeating its list of Scythian victories, as above, p. 11).

*quia unus leo multos cervos in fugam vertit, ut dicit quidam philosophus¹? Sed hiis omissis dicam vobis: Quis enim potuit contra stare² militibus Scithie? Nonne Darium regem Persarum Scithici in fugam converterunt et sic cum timore et maxima turpitudine fugiit in Persas et perdidit ibi octoginta milia hominum? Aut nonne Cyrum regem Persarum Scithici cum trecentis XXX^{3a} milibus occiderunt^a? Aut nonne Magnum Alexandrum filium Philippi regis et regine Olympiadis, qui multa regna pugnando sibi subiugaverat, ipsum etiam Scithici turpiter fugaverunt? Unde strennue et fortiter pugnemus contra eos, qui assimulantur nostris canibus, et sic multitudinem eorum timeamus, ut muscarum multitudinem. Hoc audientes milites Almi ducis multum sunt confortati statimque sonuerunt tubas bellicas per partes et commixta est utraque acies hostium ceperuntque pugnare acriter inter se et interficiebantur plurimi de Ruthenis et Cumanis. Predicti vero duces Ruthenorum et Cumanorum videntes suos deficere in bello, in fugam versi sunt et pro salute vite prope-
rantes in civitatem Kyev intraverunt. Almus dux et sui milites persequentes Ruthenos et Cumanos usque ad civitatem Kyev et tonsa^b capita³ Cumanorum Almi ducis milites mactabant tanquam crudas cucurbitas. Duces vero Ruthenorum et Cumanorum in civitatem ingressi videntes audatiam Scithicorum quasi muti remanserunt.*

IX. DE PACE INTER DUCEM ET RUTHENOS.

Dux vero Almus et sui milites adepta victoria terras Ruthenorum sibi subiugaverunt et bona eorum accipientes in secunda ebdomada civitatem Kyev ceperunt expugnare. Et dum scalas ad murum ponere cepissent, videntes duces Cumanorum et Ruthenorum au-

^a exciderunt *Ms corr.*

^b tunsas *Ms corr.*

¹ The “philosopher” is this time not, as usual, Aristotle, but the Nectaneus of the Alexander novels.

*the spirit. Do you not know, as a philosopher says, that a single lion may put to flight many deer?*¹ But in short I say to you: Who can stand against² the warriors of Scythia? *Did not the Scythians put to flight Darius, king of the Persians, and so in fear and the greatest disgrace he fled to Persia and lost there 80,000 men?* And did not the Scythians destroy Cyrus, king of the Persians, with 330,000 men. And did not the Scythians put to base flight even Alexander the Great, son of King Philip and Queen Olympias, who had conquered many kingdoms. *So let us fight bravely and courageously those who are as our dogs and let us fear their host no more than a swarm of flies.*" Hearing this, the warriors of Prince Álmos were much encouraged and they at once sounded on all sides the trumpets of war, and both lines of foes came together and they began to fight each other fiercely, and many of the Rus' and the Cumans were slain. The aforesaid princes of the Rus' and the Cumans, seeing that they were losing the battle, turned to flight and, hastening to save their lives, entered the city of Kiev. Prince Álmos and his warriors pursued the Rus' and Cumans up to the city of Kiev and the warriors of Prince Álmos sliced the shaven heads³ of the Cumans as if unripe gourds. The leaders of the Rus' and Cumans, having entered the city, seeing the daring of the Scythians, stayed there dumbstruck.

9 THE PEACE BETWEEN THE PRINCE AND THE RUS'

With victory won, Prince Álmos and his warriors conquered the lands of the Rus' and, seizing their goods, began in the second week to invest the city of Kiev. And when they began to place their ladders on the wall, the dukes of the Cumans and the Rus', seeing the

² Deut. 11.25; this Biblical reference weakens seriously the suggestion that these words are a "Hungarism," see above, n. 75 p. XXIII.

³ Tradition holds that the Cumans wore pigtails but shaved their heads; see Nora Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom: Jews, Muslims and 'Pagans' in Medieval Hungary, c. 1000–c.1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 258–9.

datiam Scithicorum *timuerunt valde*. Et dum hoc intellexissent. quod eis obsistere non valerent, tunc missis legatis dux de Kyev et alii duces Ruthenorum nec non Cumanorum, qui ibi fuerunt, rogaverunt Almus ducem et principes suos, ut pacem facerent cum eis.¹ Cum autem legati venissent ad Almus ducem et eum rogassent, ut domini eorum de sedibus non expellerentur suis, [SRH, 45] tunc dux Almus inito consilio cum suis, sic legatos remisit Ruthenorum, ut duces et primates sui filios suos in obsides darent,² tributumque annuatim persolverent decem milia marcarum³ et insuper victum vestitum et alia necessaria. Duces vero Ruthenorum, licet non sponte, tamen hec omnia Almo duci concesserunt, sed rogaverunt Almus ducem, ut dimissa terra Galicie⁴ ultra silvam Hovos^a,⁵ versus occidentem in terram Pannonie descenderent, que primo Athile regis terra fuisset, et laudabant eis terram Pannonie ultra modum esse bonam. Dicebant enim, quod ibi confluerent nobilissimi *fontes aquarum*,⁶ Danubius et Tyscia et alii nobilissimi fontes bonis piscibus habundantes, quam terram habitarent Sclavi, Bulgarii et Blachii ac pastores Romanorum.⁷ [SRH, 46] Quia post mortem Athile regis terram Pannonie Romani dicebant pascua esse eo, quod greges eorum in terra Pannonie pascebantur. Et iure terra Pannonie pascua Romanorum esse dicebatur, nam et modo Romani pascuntur de bonis Hungarie.⁸ Quid plura?

^a Ho vos *Ms corr.*

¹ *The Russian Primary Chronicle* does not know of a Hungarian siege.

² Taking hostages from defeated enemies was probably as old as inter-tribal conflicts. Anonymus may have read about this in the Bible (e.g., 4 Kings 14.14; 1 Macc. 8.7; 9.53 &c.) or in excerpts of Roman historians (Livy, Caesar, Suetonius, &c.) preserved in textbooks. On the taking of hostages generally, usually as a part of peace-making, see Jean Dunbabin, *Captivity and Imprisonment in Medieval Europe, 1000-1300* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2002), pp. 91–3. The *PVL* records for 1189 (PSRL 2, 664.III) that the Hungarians took sons of leading persons to the court in Buda.

³ The mark was in twelfth-century Hungary a unit of weight; in money it was around 233.35 grams.

⁴ Halich, named after the city of Halich, was one of the Rus' principalities from the 1140s. Hungarian kings intervened in local dynastic struggles after 1188 and added Galicia to the royal style in 1206.

daring of the Scythians, *feared greatly*. And when they realized that they could not resist them, the prince of Kiev and the other princes of the Rus' and of the Cumans who were there, having dispatched envoys, asked Prince Álmos and his great men to make peace with them.¹ When the envoys came to Prince Álmos and asked him that their lords be not expelled from their homes, Prince Álmos, having taken counsel with his men, answered the envoys of the Rus' that the princes and their chief men should give their sons as hostages,² and that they should pay every year a tribute of 10,000 marks³ and, in addition, food, clothes and other necessities. The princes of the Rus', albeit unwillingly, nevertheless conceded all these things to Prince Álmos, but they told Prince Álmos that, after leaving the land of Halich,⁴ they should descend westward beyond the Havas wood⁵ into the land of Pannonia, that had previously been the land of King Attila, and they recommended to them the land of Pannonia as being good beyond measure. For they said that there flowed the most noble *spring waters*,⁶ the Danube and Tisza and other most noble springs, abounding in good fish, in which land there lived the Slavs, Bulgarians, Vlachs, and the shepherds of the Romans.⁷ For after the death of King Attila, the Romans said the land of Pannonia was pastureland because their flocks grazed in the land of Pannonia. And rightly was the land of Pannonia said to be the pastureland of the Romans, for now too the Romans graze on the goods of Hungary.⁸ What more?

⁵ 'Havas' means in Hungarian 'snowy' and is used in general for high mountains. The reference here is to the north-eastern Carpathian Mountains.

⁶ Ps. 42.1.

⁷ On the enigmatic "shepherds of the Romans," see Dennis Deletant, "Ethnos and Mythos in the History of Transylvania: The case of the chronicler Anonymus," in *Historians and the History of Transylvania*, ed. László Péter (Boulder CO.: East European Monographs, 1992), pp. 67–85 (here pp. 75–9).

⁸ The meaning of this sarcastic aside is obscure. It may have been aimed at the agents of the Pope, the subjects of the Holy Roman Empire, or the Byzantines, who called themselves Romans. Considering the Hungarian-Byzantine tensions around 1200, the last may be considered the most likely.

X. DE VII DUCIBUS CUMANORUM.

Dux vero Almus et sui primates inito inter se consilio petitioni^a ducum Ruthenorum satisfaciētes pacem cum eis fecerunt. Tunc duces Ruthenorum, scilicet de Kyev et Susudal^b, ut ne de sedibus suis expellerentur, filios suos in obsides dederunt Almo duci et eis miserunt X^{cem} milia marcarum et mille equos cum sellis et frenis more Ruthenico ornatis¹ et centum pueros Cumanos et XL camelos ad onera portanda, pelles ermelinas et griseas sine numero ac alia multa munera non numerata.² Tunc prenominati duces Cumanorum, scilicet Ed, Edumen, Etu, Burger^c pater Borsu, Ousad pater Ursuuru, Boyta, a quo genus Bruca descendit, Ketel pater Oluptulma cum vidissent pietatem Almi ducis, quam fecit circa Ruthenos, pedibus eius provoluti se sua sponte duci Almo subiugaverunt dicentes: Ex hodierna die nobis te *dominum ac preceptorem* usque ad ultimam generationem eligimus et quo te fortuna tua duxerit, illuc te sequemur.³ Hoc etiam, quod verbo dixerunt Almo duci, fide iuramenti more paganismo firmaverunt et eodem modo dux Almus et sui primates eis fide se et *iuramento se constrinxerunt*. Tunc hii VII duces [SRH, 47] Cumanorum cum uxoribus et filiis suis nec non cum magna multitudine in Pannoniam venire concesserunt. Similiter etiam multi de Ruthenis Almo duci adherentes secum in Pannoniam venerunt. Quorum posteritas usque in hodiernum diem per diversa loca in Hungaria habitat.⁴

^a petitioni *Ms corr.*

^b Sudal *Ms*

^c Burger *Ms corr.*

¹ The Galician-Volhynian Chronicle, writing of a campaign in alliance with the Hungarians, distinguished between the common warriors, who rode on horses “in the Tatar way,” and Prince Danilo, who “rode next to the King of Hungary” and whose mount was “in the Rus’ fashion” (*po obyčaju rusku*, PSRL 2: 814). What the distinction implies can only be speculated upon.

10 THE SEVEN DUKES OF THE CUMANS

Prince Álmos and his chief men, taking counsel among themselves, agreed to the request of the princes of the Rus' and made peace with them. Then the princes of the Rus', namely of Kiev and Suzdal', lest they be expelled from their homes, gave their sons as hostages to Prince Álmos and sent with them 10,000 marks and a thousand horses with saddles and bridles decorated in Rus' fashion,¹ and a hundred Cuman boys and forty camels for carrying loads, numberless pelts of ermine and calabar and many other gifts beyond count.² Then the afore-named dukes of the Cumans, namely Ed, Edemen, Etu, Böngér, father of Bors, Ócsád, father of Örsúr, Vajta, from whom the kindred of Baracska descends, and Ketel, father of Alaptolma, when they saw the kindness with which Prince Álmos treated the Rus', prostrated themselves at his feet and of their own will subjected themselves to Prince Álmos, saying: "From today we choose you as our *lord and master* until the last generation and where your fortune leads you, there will we follow you."³ What they had said in words to Prince Álmos, they moreover confirmed with a sworn pledge in pagan manner and, in the same way, Prince Álmos and his chief men *bound themselves to them with a sworn pledge*. Then these seven dukes of the Cumans together with their wives and sons and a great host agreed to come to Pannonia. Similarly, many of the Rus', joining Prince Álmos, came with him to Pannonia. Their descendants still live today in various places in Hungary.⁴

² The description of gifts here and later owes much to the similar passages in the *Historia Alexandri*, 1, pp. 68; 2, pp. 122, 124.

³ The wording is almost identical with that of Álmos's election, above, ch. 5, p. 17.

⁴ See, e.g., the Oroszvár ("Russian castle"), in ch. 57 (p. 125, n. 4), below; and Gyula Kristó, "Russkie v Vengrii v epohu dinastii Arpadov" [Russians in Hungary in the age of the Árpád dynasty], *Slavjanovedenie* 2 (2001), pp. 22–30.

XI. DE CIVITATIBUS LODOMER ET GALICIA.

Tunc Almus dux et alii principales persone, qui Hetumoger dicuntur, nec non duces Cumanorum una cum cognatis et famulis ac famulabus suis egressi sunt de Kyeu et in ductu Ruthenorum Kyeveyensium venerunt usque ad civitatem Lodomer.¹ Dux vero Lodomeriensis et sui primates obviam Almo duci usque ad confinium^a regni cum diversis preciosis muneribus processerunt et civitatem Lodomeriam ultro ei aperuerunt. Et dux Almus cum omnibus suis in eodem loco per tres ebdomadas mansit, in tertia vero ebdomada dux Ladomeriensis duos filios suos cum omnibus filiis iobagionum suorum duci Almo in obsides dedit et insuper duo milia marcarum argenti et centum marcas auri cocti cum pellibus et pallis non numeratis et CCC equos cum sellis et frenis XXV camelos et mille boves ad onera portanda et alia munera non numerata tam duci quam suis primatibus presentavit. Et in quarta ebdomada dux Almus cum suis in Galiciam venit et ibi requiei locum sibi et suis elegit. Hoc dum Galicie dux audivisset, obviam Almo duci cum omnibus suis nudis pedibus venit et diversa munera ad usum Almi ducis presentavit et aperta porta civitatis Galicie quasi dominum suum proprium hospicio^b recepit et unicum filium suum cum ceteris filiis primatum regni sui in obsidem dedit et insuper X farisios² optimos et CCC equos cum sellis et frenis et tria milia marcarum argenti et CC marcas auri et vestes nobilissimas tam duci quam etiam omnibus^c militibus suis condonavit. Dum enim dux Almus [SRH, 48] requiei locum per mensem unum in Galicia habuisset, tunc dux Galicie ceterique consocii sui, quorum filii in obsides positi erant, sic Almus ducem et suos nobiles rogare ceperunt, ut ultra Howos versus occidentem in terram Pannonie descenderent. Dicebant enim

^a finium *Ms corr.*

^b hospicium *Ms corr.*

^c omnibus etiam *Ms corr.*

¹ Today Volodymyr Volyns'kyi, in Ukraine; it was the center of Volhynia. The Rus' principality of Volhynia or Volodimer (since the 1130s) was also in the sphere of in-

11 THE CITIES OF VOLODIMER AND HALICH

Then Prince Álmos and the other leading persons who are called the Hetumoger, and the dukes of the Cumans with their kinsmen, servants and maidservants, marched from Kiev and, led by the Rus' from Kiev, came to the city of Volodimer.¹ The prince of Volodimer and his chief men proceeded with diverse precious gifts to the borders of the country to receive Prince Álmos and voluntarily opened the city of Volodimer to him. And Prince Álmos stayed in that place with all his men for three weeks and in the third week the prince of Volodimer gave to Prince Álmos as hostages his two sons together with all the sons of his chief men and, in addition, he presented both to the prince and his leading men 2000 marks of silver and a hundred marks of refined gold, with innumerable furs and cloaks, and 300 horses with saddles and bridles, and twenty-five camels, and a thousand oxen for carrying loads, and other countless gifts. In the fourth week, Prince Álmos came with his men to Halich and there he chose a place of repose for himself and his men. When the prince of Halich heard this, he with all his men went barefoot to Prince Álmos and presented diverse gifts for his pleasure and, having opened the gate of the city of Halich, he welcomed him as his lord and he gave as hostage his only son together with the sons of the leading men of the kingdom and, in addition, he gave ten of the very best Arab steeds² and 300 horses with saddles and bridles, and 3000 marks of silver and 200 marks of gold and the most noble raiment both for the prince and all his warriors as well. After Prince Álmos had taken repose in Halich for a month, the Prince of Halich and his other companions, whose sons had been given as hostages, told Prince Álmos and his noblemen to descend westwards beyond the Havas [Mountain] into the land of Pannonia. For they said to them that the land

terest of the kings of Hungary (with dynastic ties) who took its name into the royal style, together with Galicia/Halich, in 1206.

² *farisius* comes from Arabic (*al-*)*faras*, whence through the Spanish *alfaraz* emerged a Latinized version *alpharaces*, and Old French *alferant*, *auferant*.

eis sic, quod terra illa nimis bona esset et ibi confluerent nobilissimi fontes, quorum nomina hec essent, ut supra^a diximus: Danubius, Tyscia, Wag, Morisius, Crisius, Temus et ceteri, que etiam primo fuisset terra Athile regis et mortuo illo preoccupassent Romani principes terram Pannonie usque ad Danubium, ubi collocavissent^b pastores suos. Terram vero, que iacet inter Thisciam et Danubium, preoccupavisset^c sibi Keanus¹ magnus, dux Bulgarie, avus Salani² ducis, usque ad confinium Ruthenorum et Polonorum et fecisset ibi habitare Sclavos et Bulgaros. [SRH, 49] Terram vero, que est inter Thisciam et silvam Igfon,³ que iacet ad Erdeuelu,⁴ a fluvio Morus usque ad fluvium Zomus, preoccupavisset sibi dux Morout,⁵ cuius nepos dictus est ab Hungaris Menumorout eo, quod plures habebat amicas,⁶ et terram illam habitarent gentes, qui dicuntur Cozar^{d, 7}. Terram vero, que est a fluvio Morus^e usque ad castrum Ursua^f preoccupavisset^g quidam dux nomine Glad^{h, 8} de Budynⁱ [SRH, 50] castro agressus adiutorio Cumanorum, ex cuius progenie Ohtum fuit natus, quem postea longo post tempore sancti regis Stephani Sunad

^a super *Ms corr.*

^b collocassent *Ms corr.*

^c preoccupavissent *Ms corr.*

^d gentes Cozar qui dicuntur *Ms corr.*

^e Mors *Ms*

^f Urscia *Ms*

^g preoccupavisset *Ms corr.*

^h Gaad *Ms corr.*

ⁱ Bundyn *Ms*

¹ This name may have been derived from the Turkic title of rulers (*khan*).

² The name of the imaginary Salan may have its origin in the place name Szalánkemén (Stari Slankamen in Serbia), see below, ch. 41, p. 87).

³ Igfon (or Idjfon), a range of hills north of Oradea now called Munții Plopișului (763 m high), was apparently a major royal hunting ground, mentioned as such in the Chronicle, ch. 113 (SRH 1, p. 380).

⁴ Anonymus uses here the name Erdeuelu, obviously reflecting Hungarian *Erdély*; compare Romanian *Ardeal*. Cf. below, ch. 24, p. 59.

⁵ See above, p. XXVII.

there was very good and that there flowed there the most noble springs, whose names were, as we said above, the Danube, Tisza, Váh, Maros/Mureş, Körös/Criş, Timiş and others, that it had first been the land of King Attila and that after his death the leaders of the Romans had taken possession of the land of Pannonia up to the Danube, where they had stationed their shepherds. But that the great Kean,¹ prince of Bulgaria, grandfather of Prince Salan,² had taken possession of the land that lies between the Danube and the Tisza, as far as the borders of the Rus' and the Poles, and had made the Slavs and Bulgarians live there. The land between the Tisza and Igyfon wood,³ that lies towards Transylvania,⁴ from the Mureş River up to the Someş River had been occupied by Prince Marót,⁵ whose grandson was called Ménmarót by the Hungarians, for he had many concubines⁶; and the peoples that are called Kozár⁷ inhabited that land. And that a certain prince called Galad⁸ coming from the castle of Vidin had with the help of the Cumans taken possession of the land from the river Mureş up to the castle of Orşova. From his line was born Ajtony, whom, a long time later, at the time of the holy King Stephen, Csanád, son of Doboka and nephew of the king, slew in his castle beside the Mureş River because he was rebellious to the king in all his doings.⁹ To him the aforesaid king gave for his good service a wife and the castle¹⁰ of

⁶ The prefix 'Mén' (in fact originating from the Turkic for 'great') is implicitly explained by the author by the reference to concubines, thereby implying a derivation from the Hungarian *mén* 'stallion'.

⁷ The name Kozar has been variously explained as "Khazar," as a corruption of *cozlonos*, meaning "people of Kaliz" (i.e., of Khwarezm), or as a word meaning "goat-herd." There is no evidence for the existence of such a group of people, save—as usual with Anonymus—a number of place names. See Göckenjan, *Hilfsvölker*, pp. 40–1.

⁸ Galad's name came probably from the location Gilád (now Ghilad, Romania).

⁹ The story of Csanád and his defeat of Ajtony is given in the Legend of St Gerald (SRH 2, pp. 489–92). There, Csanád is identified as a close retainer of Ajtony who changed over to Stephen's side, not as a relative of the king.

¹⁰ According to the same Legend, Csanád was granted Marosvár, now Cenadu Vechi. The same source charged Ajtony with "having seven wives" (cited as a sign of pagan immorality). Anonymus may imply that one of them was given to Csanád but the text is ambiguous.

filius Dobuca nepos regis in castro suo iuxta Morisium interfecit eo, quod predicto regi rebellis fuit in omnibus. Cui etiam predictus rex pro bono servicio uxorem et castrum Ohtum cum omnibus appendiciis suis condonavit, sicut enim mos est bonorum dominorum suos fideles remunerare, quod castrum nunc Sunad nuncupatur. Quid ultra?

XII. QUOMODO PANNONIAM INTRAVERUNT.

Dux vero Almus et sui primates acquiescentes consiliis Ruthenorum pacem firmissimam cum eis^a fecerunt. Duces enim Ruthenorum, ut ne de sedibus suis expellerentur, filios suos, ut supra diximus, in obsides dederunt cum muneribus non numeratis. Tunc dux Galicie duo milia sagittatorum^b et III^a milia rusticorum¹ anteire precepit, qui eis per silvam Hovos viam prepararent usque ad confinium Hung, et omnia iumenta eorum victualibus et aliis necessariis oneravit et pecudes ad victum condonavit sine numero. Tunc VII principales persone, que^c Hetumoger dicuntur [SRH, 51] et hii VII duces Cumanorum, quorum nomina supra diximus, una cum cognatis et famulis ac famulabus consilio et auxilio Ruthenorum Galicie sunt egressi in terram Pannonie. Et sic venientes per silvam Hovos ad partes Hung descenderunt. Et cum illuc pervenissent, locum, quem primo occupaverunt, Muncas nominaverunt eo, quod cum maximo labore ad terram, quam sibi adoptabant, pervenerant.² Tunc ibi pro requie laborum suorum XL dies permanserunt et terram *ultra, quam dici potest, dilexerunt*.³ Sclavi vero *habitatores terre*⁴ audientes adventum eorum, timuerunt valde et sua sponte se Almo duci subiugaverunt eo, quod audiverant Almus

^a cum eis *Ms add.*

^b sagittarum *Ms corr.*

^c qui *Ms corr.*

¹ Mentioning peasants assigned to the Hungarians suggests that the author knew of the border obstacles that needed manpower to be dismantled. Indeed, in 1241, the Mongols sent thousands of axe-men ahead for this purpose (see below, n. 1, p. 160).

Ajtony, together with all its appurtenances, as it is the practice of good lords to reward faithful men, and this castle is now called Cenad. What more?

12 HOW THEY ENTERED PANNONIA

Prince Álmos and his chief men, agreeing to the counsels of the Rus', made a most lasting peace with them. For the princes of the Rus', not to be expelled from their homes, had given, as we said above, their sons as hostages along with countless gifts. Then the prince of Halich ordered 2000 archers and 3000 peasants¹ to go in advance to prepare for them a way through the Havas wood as far as the confines of Ung, and he loaded all their beasts of burden with victuals and other necessities and gave them innumerable flocks for food. Then, with the counsel and help of the Rus' of Halich, the seven leading persons, who are called the Hetumoger, and the seven dukes of the Cumans, whose names we said above, together with their kinsmen, servants and maidservants left for the land of Pannonia. And so, coming through the Havas wood, they came down to the region of Ung. When they arrived there, they called the place that they first occupied Munkács because they had arrived after the greatest toil at the land that they had chosen for themselves.² Then they rested there for forty days from their labors and they *loved the land more than can be*³ said. The *inhabitants of the land*,⁴ the Slavs, hearing of their arrival, feared greatly and of their own accord submitted to Prince Álmos because they had heard that Prince Álmos was descended of the line of King Attila. Although they were Prince Salan's men, they still served Prince Álmos with great honor and dread, offering to their lord, as is fitting,

² Today Mukačeve, Ukraine. We have retained the Hungarian form, as the author's—this time convincing—etymology would be otherwise lost: *munka* means 'toil' or 'work' in Hungarian.

³ Here and elsewhere: Gen. 27.33.

⁴ Here and below: Judith 2.18.

ducem de genere Athile regis descendisse. Et licet homines fuissent Salani ducis, tamen cum magno honore et timore serviebant Almo duci, omnia, que sunt necessaria ad victum, sicut decet, domino suo offerentes. Et talis timor et tremor irruerat super *habitatores terre* et adulabantur^a duci et suis primatibus, sicut servi ad suos proprios dominos, et laudabant eis fertilitatem terre illius et narrabant, quomodo mortuo Athila^b rege magnus Keanus, preavus^c ducis^d Salani, dux de Bulgaria egressus auxilio et consilio imperatoris Grecorum preoccupaverat terram illam, qualiter etiam ipsi Sclavi de terra Bulgarie conducti^e fuerunt ad confinium Ruthenorum, et qualiter nunc Salanus dux eorum se et suos teneret et quante potestatis esset circa suos vicinos.

XIII. DE HUNG CASTRO.

Tunc^f dux Almus et sui primates audientes talia leciores facti sunt solito et ad castrum Hung equitaverunt, ut caperent id^g.¹ Et dum castra metati essent circa murum, tunc comes eiusdem castri nomine Loborcy, qui in lingua eorum *duca*² [SRH, 52] vocabatur, fuga lapsus ad castrum Zemlum properabat, quem milites ducis persequentes iuxta quendam fluvium comprehendentes laqueo suspenderunt in eodem loco et a die illo fluvium illum vocaverunt sub nomine eiusdem Loborcy. Tunc dux Almus et sui castrum Hung subintrantes diis immortalibus magnas victimas fecerunt et convivia per IIII^{or} dies celebraverunt. Quarto autem die inito consilio et accepto iuramento omnium suorum dux Almus ipso vivente filium suum Arpadium *ducem ac preceptorem*³ constituit et vocatus est

^a adul abantur *Ms corr.*

^b Athala *Ms corr.*

^c pre avus *Ms corr.*

^d duces *Ms corr.*

^e conductu *Ms*

all that was needed to live on. And such fear and dread overtook the *inhabitants of the land* that they cringed before the prince and his leading men, like servants to their own lords. They extolled to them the fertility of their land and told how, after the death of King Attila, the great Kean, forbear of Prince Salan and prince of Bulgaria, advancing with the aid and counsel of the emperor of the Greeks, had occupied that land, how the Slavs themselves had been led from the land of Bulgaria to the border of the Rus' and how Salan, their duke, now guarded himself and his people, and how much power he had among his neighbors.

13 THE CASTLE OF UNG

Then, hearing these things, Prince Álmos and his leading men were especially gladdened and they rode to the castle of Ung in order to capture it.¹ As they encamped around the wall, the count of the castle, Laborc by name, who in their language was called *duka*,² hastened in flight to the castle of Zemplín, but the warriors of the prince, pursuing and capturing him next to some river, hanged him by a noose there and from that day they called the river by his name, Laborc. Then Prince Álmos and his men, entering Ung castle, made great sacrifices to the immortal gods and feasted for four days. And on the fourth day, having had counsel and taken an oath from all his men, Prince Álmos while yet still living appointed his son, Árpád, as *leader and master*,³ and he was called Árpád, prince of Hungaria, and from Ung all his warriors were called Hungar-

^f Dunc *Ms*

^g eum *Ms*

¹ The *MS* has 'to capture him,' but this must be a textual corruption.

² From the medieval Greek for 'duke.'

³ Anonymus knew that several Hungarian "crown princes" were crowned in the lifetime of their fathers in medieval Hungary; closest to his time, the child Ladislas (III) was crowned by his father Emeric in 1204.

Arpad dux Hungarieⁱ et ab Hungu omnes sui milites vocati sunt Hunguari secundum linguam alienigenarum^a et illa vocatio usque ad presens durat per totum mundum. [SRH, 53]

XIV. DE ARPAD DUCE.

Anno dominice incarnationis D CCCC^o III^{o2} Arpad dux³ missis exercitibus suis totam terram, que est inter Thisciam et Budrug usque ad Ugosam⁴ sibi cum omnibus habitatoribus suis preoccupavit et castrum Borsoa⁵ obsedit et tercio die pugnando apprehendit, muros eius destruxit et milites Salani ducis, quos ibi invenit, *cathenis ligatos*⁶ in castrum Hung duci precepit. Et dum ibi per plures dies habitassent, dux et sui videntes fertilitatem terre et abundantiam omnium bestiarum et copiam piscium de fluminibus Thiscie et Budrug, terram *ultra, quam dici potest*, dux Arpad et sui *dilexerunt*. Tandem vero, dum hec omnia, que acta fuerant, dux Salanus a suis fuga lapsis^b audivisset, *manum levare*⁷ ausus non fuit, sed missis legatis suis more Bulgarico^c,⁸ ut mos est eorum, minari cepit et Arpadium ducem Hungarie quasi deridendo salutavit et suos pro risu Hungaros⁹ appellavit et multis modis mirari cepit, *qui essent et unde venissent*,¹⁰ qui talia facere ausi fuissent^d, et mandavit eis, ut mala facta sua emendarent et fluvium Budrug nullo

^a Hungarie *Ms corr*

^b lapsus *Ms corr*:

^c Bulgarico *Ms*

^d ausi facere fuissent *Ms corr*:

¹ See above, ch. 2, p. 13.

² No external evidence supports this date.

³ It is remarkable that Anonymus omitted any reference to the death of Álmos: he simply vanishes from the narrative. According to the Hungarian Chronicle (ch. 28, SRH 1: 287), he was killed in Transylvania, being “unable to enter Pannonia.” Hypotheses abound regarding this sentence, from ritual sacrifice to parallels to Moses.

⁴ Ugocsa was a royal forest at the foot of the Carpathian Mountains, later a county.

⁵ An earthwork near Vari, Ukraine.

ians in the language of foreign nations,¹ and that name persists throughout the whole world up to now.

14 PRINCE ÁRPÁD

In the year of Our Lord's incarnation 903,² Prince Árpád,³ having sent out his armies, took for himself the whole land that is between the rivers Tisza and the Bodrog, as far as Ugocsa⁴ together with all its inhabitants. He then besieged the castle of Boržava⁵ and on the third day of fighting took it, destroyed its walls, and ordered the warriors of Prince Salan whom he found there to be *taken in fetters*⁶ to the castle of Ung. While staying there for some days, the prince and his men, seeing the fertility of the land and the abundance of all beasts and the fullness of the fishes in the rivers Tisza and Bodrog, *loved the land more than can be said*. When Prince Salan eventually heard from those of his men who had taken to flight of all that had happened, he did not dare *raise his hand*⁷ but, having sent his envoys, began to threaten in Bulgarian fashion, as is their custom,⁸ and he greeted Prince Árpád of Hungary mockingly, and he jokingly called his men Hungarians.⁹ He began to wonder in many ways *who they were and whence they* who dared to do such things *had come*,¹⁰ and he commanded them to make good

⁶ Here and elsewhere below, *Historia Alexandri*, 1, 13.

⁷ Here and many times later, 1 Sam. 26.23. The *Excidium Troiae* (p. 47) also has *manum levare*.

⁸ For "Bulgarian haughtiness," more properly insolence and boastfulness, see Jonathan Shepard, "A marriage too far? Maria Lekapena and Peter of Bulgaria," in Albert Davids, *The Empress Theophano: Byzantium and the West at the turn of the first millennium* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 121–49 (here at pp. 134, 138); Michael Psellus, *Chronographia*, iv, 39 in Michael Psellus, *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers*, ed. E. R. A. Sewter (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1966), p. 109.

⁹ It is unclear why the author regarded the word *Hunguari* (for which see above, p. 12, n. 1) as mocking in this instance.

¹⁰ Cf. Dares 9 (p. 12)

modo transire auderent, ut ne ipse veniens cum adiutorio Grecorum et Bulgarorum de malo facto eorum eis vicem reddens vix aliquem dimitteret, qui ad propria remeans salutis gaudia nuntiaret. Missi vero Salani ducis venientes ad castrum Zemlin et transito fluvio Budrug secunda die ad ducem Arpadium pervenerunt, tertio autem die ducem Arpadium^a verbo domini sui salutaverunt et mandata eius duci Arpadio retulerunt. Dux autem Arpad audita legatione Salani superbi ducis, non superbe, sed humiliter ei respondit dicens: Licet preavus meus, potentissimus rex Athila habuerit terram, que iacet inter Danubium et Thysciam usque ad confinium Bul[SRH, 54]garorum, quam ipse habet, attamen ego non propter aliquem timorem Grecorum vel Bulgarorum, quod eis resistere non valeam, sed propter amicitiam Salani ducis vestri peto de mea iustitia¹ unam particulam propter pecora mea, scilicet terram usque ad fluvium Souiou^b et insuper peto ab ipso duce vestro, ut mittat mihi gratia ipsius duas lagungulas plenas aqua Danubii et unam sarcinam de herbis sabulorum Olpar, ut possim probare, si sint dulciores herbe sabulorum Olpar herbis Scythicorum, id est Dentumoger, et aque^c Danubii, si sint meliores aquis Thanaydis. Et data eis legatione diversis eos muneribus ditavit et capta benivolentia eorum repatriare precepit. Tunc dux Arpad inito consilio eodem modo misit nuntios suos ad Salanum ducem et misit ei XII albos equos et XII camelos et XII pueros Cumanicos et ducisse XII puellas Ruthenicas prudentissimas et duodecim pelles ermelinas et XII zobolos et XII pallia *deaurata*.² Et missi sunt in legatione illa de nobilioribus personis Oundu pater Ethe et alter Ketel pater Oluptulme^d et tertium miserunt quendam strennuissimum militem nomine Tursol causa spectacula, qui inspiceret qualitatem terre et cicius reversus nuntiaret domino suo duci Arpad.

^a Apadium *Ms corr.*

^b Louiou *Ms*

^c aq *Ms*, aqua *eds.*

^d Oluptolmae *Ms*

their misdeeds and not to cross in any way the Bodrog River, lest he, with the help of the Greeks and Bulgarians, repaying in kind to them their own ill deed, should let scarcely any of them return home to tell that they had escaped. The envoys of Prince Salan, coming to the castle of Zemplín and having crossed the Bodrog River, reached Prince Árpád on the next day, and on the third day they greeted Prince Árpád with the words of their lord and relayed to Prince Árpád his message. Prince Árpád, having listened to the embassy of the haughty duke Salan, replied not haughtily, but humbly, saying: "Although my forbear, the most powerful King Attila, had the land which lies between the Danube and the Tisza as far as the border of the Bulgarians, which he, your master, has, I nevertheless—not because I fear that I may be unable to withstand the Greeks and Bulgarians, but rather for the friendship of Salan, your duke—ask from my heritage¹ one little place for my flocks, namely the land up to the Sajó River. In addition I ask your lord to send me of his grace two small bottles filled with the water of the Danube and one bag of herbs of the sands of Alpár so that I may test whether the herbs of the sands of Alpár are sweeter than the herbs of those of the Scythians, that is Dentumoger, and whether the waters of the Danube are better than the waters of the Don." Having given this message to them, he enriched them with diverse gifts and having won their goodwill he ordered them home. Then Prince Árpád, having taken counsel, likewise sent his envoys to Prince Salan and sent to him twelve white horses and twelve camels and twelve Cuman boys and, for the princess, twelve most nimble Rus' girls and twelve ermine pelts and twelve sables and twelve cloaks of *woven gold*.² And in that embassy were sent out of the more noble persons Ónd, father of Ete; secondly Ketel, father of Alaptolma; and, thirdly, they sent the most valiant warrior, Tarcál by name, for reconnaissance, to inspect the quality of the land and, returning speedily, to report to his lord, Prince Árpád.

¹ *Ius, iustitia*—Hungaricized as *juss* (pronounced /juš/)—came to mean someone's right to something, especially inheritance; see also below, n. 3, p. 53; n. 1, p. 86.

² Cf. *Excidium Troie*, ch. 62 (p. 122)

XV. DE CAMARO^a CASTRO.

Missi vero Arpad ducis Oundu pater Ethe et Ketel pater Oluptulma et Turzol miles Cumanus, cuius genealogia defecit [SRH, 55] in semetipso, venientes fluvium Budrug transnatauerunt in illo loco, ubi parvus fluvius manans a Saturholmu descendit in Budrug. Et sic transeuntes fluvium Budrug, cum predictum parvum fluvium transirent quasi leti,¹ tunc per inundationem aquarum Ketel equo offendente in aquam submersus est et sociis suis adiuvantibus vix a leto¹ liberatus est. Tunc fluvius ille per socios Ketel vocatus est per risum Ketelpotaca.² Et postea dux Arpad per gratiam suam totam terram cum habitatoribus suis eidem Ketel a Saturholmu usque ad fluvium Tulsuo condonavit et non tantum hec, sed etiam maiora hiis condonavit, quia dux Arpad subiugata sibi tota terra Pannonie pro fidelissimo servitio suo eidem Ketel dedit terram magnam iuxta Danubium, ubi fluvius Wag descendit, ubi postea Oluptulma filius Ketel castrum construxit, quod Camarum nuncupavit. Ad servitium cuius castri, tam de populo secum ducto, quam etiam a duce aquisito duas partes condonavit,³ ubi etiam longo post tempore ipse Ketel et filius suus Tulma more paganismo sepulti sunt, sed terram illam, que nunc Ketelpotaca vocatur, posteritas eius usque ad tempora Andree regis filii Calvi Ladizlay⁴ habuit. Attamen rex Andreas de posteris Ketel canbivit illum [SRH, 56] locum duabus de causis, unum quia utilis regibus erat ad venationes, secundum quia diligebat partes illas habitare uxor suo eo, quod proprius^b ad natale solum esset, quia erat filia ducis Rutheno-

^a Camero *Ms corr.*

^b proprius *Ms*

¹ We have tried here to imitate Anonymus's punning of *leti* 'happily' and *leto* 'death.'

² Literally, "Ketel's Brook."

³ This report on the division of subjects into third parts, two of which were assigned to the royal castle (and its domain) with one remaining in the hands of the lord of the land, may reflect the system of early organization of the royal counties and the obliga-

15 THE CASTLE OF KOMARNO

The envoys of Prince Árpád—Ónd, father of Ete; secondly Ketel, father of Alaptolma; and Tarcál the Cuman warrior (whose line perished with him)—coming to the Bodrog River, swam across at that place where a little river coming from Sátorhalom, flows into the Bodrog. After having crossed the Bodrog River, when they were apparently happily crossing the aforesaid little river, then by the swell of the waters and with his horse blundering, Ketel sank into the water and narrowly escaped a hapless death with the help of his companions.¹ Then that river was jokingly called by Ketel's companions Ketelpataka.² Afterwards Prince Árpád gave by his grace to Ketel the whole land with its inhabitants from Sátorhalom to the Tolcsva River, and he gave not just this but more besides because, after Prince Árpád had conquered the whole land of Pannonia, he gave to Ketel for his most faithful service a great land beside the Danube at the confluence of the Váh River. There Alaptolma, Ketel's son, later built a castle that is called Komárom. For servicing that castle, he gave two thirds both of the people he had brought with him and those he had obtained from the prince.³ A long time later, Ketel and his son, Tolma, were buried there in pagan manner, but his descendants had that land, which is now called Ketelpataka, to the times of King Andrew, son of Ladislas the Bald.⁴ Nevertheless, King Andrew exchanged that land with the descendants of Ketel for two reasons: first, because it was suitable to kings for hunting; secondly, because his wife liked to dwell in those parts because they were closer to her native soil, as she was

tion of *ispáns* to render two-thirds of their income to the treasury; see Silagi, *Gesta*, p. 157. See also below, ch. 57, p. 127.

⁴ King Andrew I, 1046–60, was in fact the son of Vazul, not of his brother Ladislas Szár ('the Bald'). This genealogical "mistake" goes back to the early part of the Hungarian Chronicle (ch. 69; SRH I, p. 321), written at the time when the line of Vazul was ruling the country, where the author sought to distance the dynasty from an ignominiously blinded and maimed ancestor.

rum¹ et timebat adventum imperatoris Theotonicorum, ut ne ulturus^a sanguinem Petri regis Hungariam intraret, ut in sequentibus dicitur.²

XVI. DE MONTE TURZOL.

Tunc Ound et Ketel nec non Turzol transeuntes silvam iuxta fluvium Budrug equitando quasi *bravium accipere*³ volentes super equos velocissimos *currentes* super verticem unius altioris montis ascenderunt. Quos Turzol miles strennuissimus antecedens cacumen montis primus omnium ascendit et montem illum a die illo usque nunc montem Turzol⁴ nominaverunt. Tunc hii tres domini super verticem eiusdem montis terram undique perspicientes, quantum humanus oculus valet, *ultra, quam dici potest, dilexerunt* et in eodem loco more paganismo occiso equo pinguissimo magnum aldamas⁵ fecerunt. Turzol a sociis accepta licentia, sicut erat vir audax et fidus in armis, cum suis militibus ad ducem Arpadium reversus est, ut ei utilitatem illius terre nuntiaret. Quod et sic factum est. Ound vero et Ketel equitantes celerrimo cursu egressi de monte Turzol tercio die ducem Salanum in castro Olpar^b iuxta Thysciam^c invenerunt, quem ex parte Arpad^d salutaverunt et ei secunda die post ingressum curie sue dona, que secum portaverant, presentaverunt ac mandata Arpad ducis ei retulerunt. Dux Salanus visis muneribus et audita legatione tam suorum quam istorum le-

^a ulterius *Ms*

^b Opar *Ms*

^c Thysiam *Ms*

^d Apat *Ms corr.*

¹ Anastasia was the daughter of Yaroslav the Wise, Grand Prince of Kiev (1019-54).

² King Peter Orseolo ruled Hungary 1038-41 and 1044-6. Expelled from the country, he returned with the help of King and Emperor Henry III, but was defeated by

the daughter of the prince of the Rus'¹ and feared the arrival of the emperor of the Germans, lest he should enter Hungary to avenge the blood of King Peter, as will be told in what follows.²

16 MOUNT TARCAL

Then Ónd, Ketel and Tarcál, crossing the wood beside the Bodrog River, riding as if wanting to *get a prize*,³ *racing* on the fleetest horses, climbed the summit of a high mountain. Tarcál, the most valiant warrior, preceding all, reached the top of the mountain first and, from that time till now, they have called that mountain Mount Tarcál.⁴ Then these three lords, viewing as far as may the human eye the land on all sides from the summit of the mountain, *loved it more than can be said* and in that place they made a great celebration⁵ in pagan manner, killing the plumpest horse. Tarcál, having obtained leave from his companions, as he was a courageous man and faithful in arms, returned with his warriors to Prince Árpád in order to report to him the usefulness of that land. And he did so. Ónd and Ketel, riding a most speedy course, marched from Mount Tarcál and found on the third day Prince Salán in the castle of Alpár beside the Tisza River. They greeted him on behalf of Árpád and, on the next day, after entering his court, they presented the gifts that they had brought with them and relayed to him the message of Prince Árpád. Prince Salán, having seen the gifts and heard what they and his own men had to say,

Andrew and blinded. The last words of this sentence have often been taken as proof that the notary intended to continue his story into the eleventh century.

³ 1 Cor. 9.24.

⁴ Mount Tokaj, 515 m high.

⁵ The Hungarian word *áldomás* (related to *áldás*, 'blessing') implies a symbolic sacrifice—here perhaps a horse sacrifice—as practiced by steppe nomads, which may also have been known to the author from pre-Christian burial sites. Later the word meant the formal "toasting to" a deal, as mentioned in a charter of 1399 (OL DI 42896) and in the *Tripartitum* of Stephen Werbőczy, III, 34 (DRMH 5, p. 423).

tior factus est solito et [SRH, 57] missos Arpad ducis benigne suscepit et diversis donis ditavit et insuper postulata Arpad concessit. Decimo autem die Ound et Ketel accepta licencia¹ a Salano duce repatriare ceperunt, per quos dux Salanus duas lagungulas aqua Danubii plenas et unam sarcinam de herbis melioribus sabulorum Olpar quasi pro risu deridendo cum diversis muneribus duci Arpad misit et insuper cum habitatoribus suis terram usque ad fluvium Souyoy concessit. Tunc Ound et Ketel ad ducem Arpad cicius venientes cum legatis Salani ducis ac munera missa presentaverunt et terram cum omnibus habitatoribus suis duci Arpadio condonatum esse dixerunt. Unde *maxima leticia orta* est in curia Arpad ducis et per III dies magnum convivium celebraverunt. Et tunc roborata pace legatos Salani ducis diversis muneribus ditatos repatriare dimisit paciferos.

XVII. DE ZERENCHE^a

Arpad vero dux et sui nobiles egressi de castro^b Hung cum magno gaudio ultra montem Turzol castra metati sunt in campo iuxta fluvium Tucota usque ad montem Zerenche² et inspicientes super montana illa qualitatem illius loci et nominaverunt locum illum amabilem, quod interpretatur in lingua eorum *zerelmes*, eo, quod multum dilexerunt illum locum, et a die illo^c usque nunc a zerelmu locus ille vocatur Zerenche.³ Ubi etiam dux Arpad et omnes sui primates cum omni familia sua labore postposito factis tuguriis requiei locum sibi elegerunt et non paucos ibi dies permanserunt, donec omnia loca sibi vicina subiugaverunt, scilicet [SRH, 58]

^a *Zerensze Ms*

^b *casto Ms corr*

^c *illa Ms corr.*

¹ For here and many times in what follows, see more generally Stephen D. B. Brown, "Leavetaking: Lordship and Mobility in England and Normandy in the Twelfth Cen-

was happier than usual and graciously welcomed the envoys and enriched them with diverse gifts and, moreover, agreed to Árpád's requests. On the tenth day, Ónd and Ketel, having obtained leave¹ from Prince Salan, prepared to go home, and through them Prince Salan mockingly sent to Prince Árpád, along with diverse gifts, two bottles filled with the water of the Danube and a bag of the best herbs from the sands of Alpár and, moreover, he granted the land up to the Sajó River together with its inhabitants. Then Ónd and Ketel together with the envoys of Prince Salan, going quickly to Prince Árpád, presented the gifts that had been sent and said that the land along with its inhabitants had been granted to Prince Árpád. On account of this, the *greatest joy arose* in the court of Prince Árpád and they celebrated with a great feast for three days. And then, with peace confirmed, he sent home the peace-bearing envoys of Prince Salan, enriched with diverse gifts.

17 SZERENCSE

Prince Árpád and his noblemen, marching out from the castle of Ung, encamped with great joy beyond Mount Tarcál on the plain beside the Takta River as far as Mount Szerencs² and, seeing from the mountains the quality of the place, they called that place 'lovely' which is said in their language *szerelmes*, because they loved that place greatly, and from that day until now the place is called Szerencse from *szerelem*.³ There Prince Árpád and all his leading men, together with his whole household, putting toil aside and building huts chose for themselves a place of repose and they stayed there for several days while they conquered all the neighboring places,

tury," *History* 79 (1994), pp. 199–215; Julie Kerr, "'Welcome the coming and speed the parting guest': Hospitality in twelfth-century England," *Journal of Medieval History* 33 (2007), pp. 130–46.

² Today Nagy-hegy (Great mountain), 21 m (!!) high.

³ The etymology is unconvincing. *Szerelem*, *szerelmes* (in modern Hungarian, 'love') meant also 'dear,' *amabilis*, but Szerencs most probably derives from *szerencse* 'luck.'

usque ad fluvium Souyou et usque ad Castrum Salis. Et ibidem iuxta Tocotam et infra silvas dux Arpad dedit terras multas diversorum locorum cum suis habitatoribus Edunec et Edumer nec.¹ Quas etiam terras posteritas eorum divina gratia adiuvante usque nunc habere^a meruerunt. Predictus vero Turzol per gratiam Arpad ducis ad radicem eiusdem montis, ubi Budrug^b descendit in Tysciam, aquisivit magnam terram et in eodem loco castrum construxit terream, quod nunc in presenti Hymusudvor² nuncupatur.

XVIII. DE BORSOD.

Et dum ita *radicati essent*,³ tunc communi consilio et ammonitione omnium incolarum missus est Borsu filius Bungere cum valida manu versus terram Polonorum, qui confinia regni conspiceret et obstaculis confirmaret usque ad montem Turtur et in loco convenienti castrum construeret causa custodie regni. Borsu vero accepta licentia egressus felici fortuna collecta multitudine rusticorum⁴ iuxta fluvium Buldva castrum construxit, quod vocatum est a populo illo Borsod eo, quod parvum fuerit.⁵ Bors [SRH, 59] vero acceptis filiis incolarum in obsides et factis metis per montes Turtur reversus est ad ducem Arpad et de reversione Borsu factum est *gaudium magnum* in curia ducis. Dux vero pro beneficio suo Borsum in eodem castro comitem⁶ constituit et totam curam illius partis sibi condonavit.

^a hebere *Ms corr.*

^b Brudrug *Ms*

¹ Here and in a few other places the author retains *nec*, the Hungarian 'dative' suffix -nek, on the names of the recipients of donations, which sheds doubt on his knowledge of the language; see above, p. XXIII.

² The place name (literally 'Fancy court') has been identified with Tokaj, but is more likely to be nearby Nagyhely ('Great place').

³ Here and further below: Isai. 40.24; Coloss. 2, 7

⁴ Károly Mesterházy, "Az Örsúr nemzetség várai és váralja" [Castle and *suburbium* of the Örsúr kindred], *Acta Musei de János Arany nominati* (Nagykőrös) 4 (1986), pp.

namely as far as the Sajó River and Solivar. There, beside the Takta River and below the woods, Árpád gave many lands at various places along with their inhabitants to Ed and Edumen.¹ Their descendants have, with the aid of divine grace, been worthy to keep these lands till now. The aforesaid Tarcál obtained through the grace of Prince Árpád a great land at the bottom of the mountain, where the Bodrog River flows into the Tisza, and in that place he built an earthwork, which is now presently called Hímesudvár.²

18 BORSOD

And while they *were* thus *rooted*,³ then by common counsel and on the advice of all the inhabitants, Bors, son of Böngér, was sent with a strong force to the land of the Poles to explore the borders of the realm and to reinforce them with obstacles as far as Mount Tatry, and to build a castle in a suitable place to defend the realm. Having received leave, Bors marched out with good fortune and, having gathered a throng of peasants,⁴ he built a castle beside the Bódva River that is called by that people Borsod, because it was small.⁵ Bors, having taken the sons of the inhabitants as hostages and putting boundary markers along the mountains of Tatry, returned to Prince Árpád and there *was great joy* in the court of the prince at the return of Bors. As a reward the prince then appointed Bors *ispán*⁶ in that castle and completely entrusted him with that region.

85–99, calculated that a typical earthwork could be built by the labor of some 100 men in 200–250 days.

⁵ The -d suffix then constituted a diminutive in Hungarian, which is why the author assumed that the castle was small. Remnants of the earthwork have been found near Edelény in northeastern Hungary

⁶ *Ispán* (*comes*)—from Slavic *župan*, ‘lord’—was the title of the officer in charge of a royal domain, a county or a border region from no later than the time of King Stephen I.

XIX. DE DUCE BYHORIENSY^{a, 1}

Dux vero Arpad transactis quibusdam diebus accepto consilio nobilium suorum^b legatos misit in castrum Byhor ad ducem Menumorout petens ab eo, quod de iusticia atthavi sui Atthyle regis sibi concederet terram a fluvio Zomus usque ad confinium Nyr et usque ad portam Mezesynam,² et misit ei donaria sua, sicut primo miserat Salano duci Tytulensy. Et in legatione illa missi sunt duo strennuissimi milites: Usubuu pater [SRH, 60] Zoloucu et Velec, a cuius progenie Turda episcopus descendit.³ Erant enim isti genere nobilissimi sicuti et alii de terra Scythica egressi, qui post Almun ducem venerant cum magna^c multitudine populorum.

XX. QUALITER CONTRA BYHOR MISSUM EST.

Missi vero Arpad ducis Usubuu et Veluc fluvium Thyscie in portu Lucy transnavigaverunt et hinc egressi in castrum Byhor venientes ducem Menumorout salutaverunt et donaria, que dux eorum miserat, ei presentaverunt. Tandem vero mandata Arpad ducis ei referentes terram, quam prenominavimus, postulaverunt. Dux autem Menumorout eos benigne recepit et diversis donis ditatos tertia die repatriare precepit. Quibus tamen ita respondit dicens: Dicite Arpadio duci Hungarie, domino vestro, debitores sumus ei *ut amicus amico* in omnibus, que ei necessaria sunt, quia hospes homo est et *in multis indiget*.⁴ Terram autem, quam petivit a nostra

^a Bycoriensy *Ms*

^b suorum consilio nobilium *Ms corr.*

^c magni *Ms corr.*

¹ For the possible existence of a principality of Biharia, see Ioan-Aurel Pop, *Romanians and Hungarians from the 8th to the 14th Century* (Cluj-Napoca: Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 1996), pp. 104-21, and Alexandru Madgearu, *The Romanians in the Anonymous Gesta Hungarorum, Truth and Fiction* (Cluj-Napoca: Romanian Cultural Institute, 2005), pp. 85-146.

² The mountains (now Munții Mezeșului, 700-1000 m high), with an important highway leading across them, separated northeastern Hungary from Transylvania.

19 THE PRINCE OF BIHARIA¹

After spending several days, Prince Árpád, having taken the advice of his noblemen, sent envoys to the castle of Biharia, to Prince Ménmarót, asking him, by right of his forbear, King Attila, to give him the land from the Someş River to the border of Nyírség, up to the Mezeş Gates,² and he sent him gifts, just as he had previously sent to Salan, prince of Titel. And in that embassy were sent two of the most valiant warriors: Ösbő, father of Szalók, and Velek, from whose progeny Bishop Torda is descended.³ These were most noble by birth, like the others that came from the Scythian land and who had followed Prince Álmos with a great host of peoples.

20 HOW THEY CAMPAIGNED AGAINST BIHARIA

The envoys of Prince Árpád, Ösbő and Velek, crossed the Tisza River at the ford of Lúç and marching from there, coming to the castle of Biharia, they greeted Prince Ménmarót and presented to him the gifts that their prince had sent. Then, relaying to him the message of Prince Árpád, they requested the land which we have named before. Prince Ménmarót received them kindly and, enriched with diverse gifts, he ordered them homewards. Still, he so replied, saying: "Tell Árpád, Prince of Hungary, your lord, that we owe him *as a friend to a friend* in all things he needs because a guest is a person *short in many things*."⁴ But the land that he seeks

³ No Bishop Torda/Turda is known from Anonymus's age. However, a *Velek dux* is one of the few persons known from other records of the author's time. He had a Greek wife (perhaps from the retinue of King Béla's queen) and his daughter Anna was married to the *ispán* Bors, son of the ban Dominic, a relative of the king (RA, No. 420, charter of Andrew II from 1225). In the last will of Anna (d. 1231), we also read that King Béla III had given them a chalice (*scyphus*) as a wedding present; see *Monumenta Ecclesiae Strigoniensis*, ed. Ferenc Knauz, 2 vols. (Esztergom: Horák, 1874), vol. 1, p. 280.

⁴ *Historia Alexandri* 1, p. 92.

gratia, nullatenus concedimus nobis viventibus. Hoc etiam indigne tulimus, quod Salanus dux ei concessit maximam terram aut propter amorem, ut dicitur, aut propter timorem, quod negatur.¹ Nos autem nec propter amorem, nec propter timorem ei concedimus terram, etiam *quantum pugillus caperet*^{a, 2} licet dixerit ius³ suum esse. Et verba sua non conturbant animum [SRH, 61] nostrum eo, quod mandaverit nobis se descendisse de genere Atthile regis, qui flagellum dei dicebatur, qui etiam violenta manu rapuerat terram hanc ab atthavo meo, sed tamen modo per gratiam domini mei imperatoris Constantinopolitani nemo potest auferre de manibus meis. Et hoc dicto dedit eis licentiam recedendi. Tunc Usubuu et Veluc legati ducis Arpad cursu celeriori ad dominum suum properaverunt et venientes mandata Menumorout domino suo duci Arpad retulerunt. Arpad vero dux et sui nobiles hoc audientes iracundia ducti sunt et statim contra eum exercitum mittere ordinauerunt. Tunc constituerunt, quod Tosu^b pater Lelu et Zobolsu filius Eleud, a quo genus Saac descendit, nec non Tuhutum^c pater Horca avus Geula et Zumbor, a quibus genus Moglout descendit, irent. Qui cum a duce Arpadio essent licentiati, cum exercitu non modico egressi sunt et Thysciam^d transnatauerunt in portu Ladeo [SRH, 62] nemine adversario contradicente. Secundo autem die ceperunt equitare iuxta Thysciam versus fluvium Zomus et castra metati sunt in illo loco, ubi nunc est Zobolsu, et in eodem loco fere omnes habitatores terre se sua sponte eis subiugaverunt et pedibus eorum provoluti filios suos in obsides dederunt, ut ne aliquid mali paterentur. Nam timebant eos fere omnes gentes et quidam a facie eorum fugientes vix evaserunt, qui venientes ad Menumorout, facta eorum nuntiaverunt. Hoc audito talis et tantus timor^e irruiit super Menumorout, quod *manum levare* ausus non fuit, quia omnes habitatores timebant eos ultra, quam dici potest, eo, quod audive-

^a capere *Ms*

^b Tasu *Ms corr.*

^c Tuhtum *Ms*

^d ex Thysciam essent transnatauerunt *Ms corr.*

^e timor *Ms om.*

of our grace we will in no way surrender while we live. We are indignant that Prince Salan has given him a very great land either out of affection, as is said, or out of fear, as is denied.¹ As for ourselves, neither from affection nor from fear will we grant him land, even *a handful*,² although he says it is his right.³ And his words do not disquiet our mind when he tells us that he is descended from the line of King Attila, who was called the scourge of God, who also seized this land with violent hand from my forbear, but now by the grace of my lord the emperor of Constantinople no one can snatch it from my hands.” Having said this, he granted them leave to withdraw. Then Ósbő and Velek, the envoys of Prince Árpád, hastened speedily to their lord and, upon arrival, reported to their lord, Prince Árpád, the message of Ménmarót. Upon hearing this, Prince Árpád and his nobles were moved by anger and they immediately ordered an army to be sent against him. Then they decided that Tas, father of Lél, and Szabolcs, son of Előd, (from whom the Csák kindred descends), and Tétény, father of Horka, grandfather of Gyula and Zombor (from whom the Maglód kindred descends), should go. Having been granted leave by Prince Árpád, they marched off with no small army and swam unopposed across the Tisza at the ford of Lád. On the next day, they began to ride along the Tisza towards the Szamos/Someş River and they encamped at that place where is now Szabolcs. At that place, almost all the inhabitants of the land surrendered of their own will and, throwing themselves at their feet, gave their sons as hostages lest they should suffer any harm. For almost all the peoples feared them and only a few managed by flight to escape them and, coming to Ménmarót, to announce what they [the Hungarians] had done. Having heard this, so great a fear overwhelmed Ménmarót that he did not dare *raise his hand*, because all the inhabitants feared them more than can be said, because they had heard that

¹ The two alternatives, affection and fear, are standard categories in legal documents; see, e.g., *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, Decr. II c. 35, q 6, c. 6–11.

² 1 Chron. 17.12.

³ On *ius* see above, n. 3, p. 42–3 and below, n. 1, p. 86–7.

rant Almus ducem patrem Arpadii a genere^a Atthile regis descendisse, unde nullus credebatur se posse vivere, nisi per gratiam Arpad filii Almi ducis et suorum nobilium, unde plurimi se sua sponte subiugabant eis. Bene implevit deus in Almo duce et filio suo Arpad prophetiam, quam cecinit Moyses propheta a filiis Israel dicens: *Et locus, quem calcaverit pes vester, vester erit.*¹ Quia a die illo loca, que calcaverunt Almus dux et filius suus Arpad cum suis nobilibus, usque ad presens posteritates eorum habuerunt et habent.

XXI. DE ZOBOLSU.

Tunc Zobolsu vir sapientissimus considerans quendam locum iuxta Thysciam et, cum vidisset qualitatem loci, intellexit esse munitissimum ad castrum faciendum. Communi ergo consilio sociorum suorum congregatione facta civium fecit fossatam magnam et castrum fortissimum edificavit de terra, quod nunc castrum Zobolsu nuncupatur. Tunc Zobolsu et socii sui de incolis terre castrum illud multos ordinaverunt servientes, qui nunc civiles vocantur,² et dimissis ibi militibus sub quodam nobilissimo milite nomine Eculsu se longius ire preparaverunt. Tunc Zobolsu et socii sui totum exercitum in duas partes dividerunt, ut una pars iret iuxta fluvium Zomus et altera pars per partes Nir. Zobolsu [SRH, 63] et Thosu pater Lelu cum medietate exercitus egressi sunt per crepidinem Thyscie subiugando sibi gentes et venerunt versus fluvium Zomus ad illum locum, qui nunc dicitur Saruvar.³ Et in eodem loco infra paludes Thosu pater Lelu congregata multitudo populi fossatam magnam fecit et castrum munitissimum de terra construxit, quod primo castrum Thosu nominatum fuit, nunc vero Saruuar vocatur, et acceptis filiis incolarum in obsides castrum militibus plenum dimiserunt. Tunc Thosu per

^a geo nere *Ms*

¹ Deut. 11, 24.

² The reference is to the institution of *castrenses* (also called *cives*) assigned to provision the principal castles of the kingdom; see, e.g. the laws of St. Stephen (1:8, DRMH 1, p. 3), of St Ladislav (3:2, *ibid.*, p. 17), and of Coloman (35, 45, *ibid.*, pp. 27, 28) etc.

Prince Álmos, father of Árpád, was descended of the line of King Attila. Hence none believed they could survive except by the grace of Árpád, son of Prince Álmos, and his noblemen, and therefore, very many of their own accord submitted to them. Well did God fulfill in Prince Álmos and his son, Árpád, the prophecy that Moses uttered to the sons of Israel, saying: "*Every place, that your foot shall tread upon, shall be yours.*"¹ For the places whereon Prince Álmos and his son, Árpád, together with their noblemen trod, their descendants had and have from that day to the present.

21 SZABOLCS

Then Szabolcs, a most resourceful man, while inspecting a place beside the Tisza, saw the lie of the place, and realized it to be very well placed for a castle. With the common counsel of his companions and having assembled the men of the country, he had a great moat dug out and built a very strong earthwork, which is now called the castle of Szabolcs. Then Szabolcs and his companions appointed from among the inhabitants of the land many serving men to that castle who are now called men of the castle,² and having left warriors there under a most noble warrior, Ekölcs by name, they prepared to go further. Then Szabolcs and his companions divided their whole army into two parts, one part to go along the Szamos River and the other through the region of Nyírség. Szabolcs and Tas, father of Lél, marched with half the army along the banks of the Tisza, conquering peoples, and they came to that place, towards the Szamos, that is now called Sárvár.³ In the same place, in the marshes, Tas, father of Lél, having gathered a host of people, had a great moat dug out and built a very strong earthwork, which was at first named the castle of Tas, and is now called Sárvár, and having taken the sons of those living there as hostages, they left the castle full of warriors. Then Tas,

³ Probably identical with the site of the Benedictine monastery Sárvár in Co. Szatmár.

petitionem^a populi domino suo duci Arpad subiugati fecit stare forum inter Nir et Thysciam, cui etiam foro nomen suum imposuit, quod usque nunc Forum Thosu¹ nuncupatur. Post vero Zobolsu et Thosu hinc egressi usque ad castrum Zotmar pervenerunt et castrum per tres dies pugnando obsidentes victoriam adepti sunt. Et quarto die castrum intrantes milites ducis Menumorout, quos ibi apprehendere potuerunt, *cathenis ferreis obligatos* in teterrima carceris inferiora miserunt et filios incolarum in obsides acceperunt et castrum militibus plenum dimiserunt, ipsi vero ad portas Mezesinas ire ceperunt.

XXII. DE NYR.

Tuhutum vero et filius suus Horca per partes Nyr equitantes magnum sibi populum subiugaverunt a silvis Nyr usque ad Umusouer. Et sic ascendentes usque ad Zyloc pervenerunt [SRH, 64] contra eos nemine *manum levante*, quia dux Menumorout et sui non sunt ausi pugnare contra eos, sed fluvium Cris custodire ceperunt. Tunc Tuhutum et filius suus Horca de Ziloc egressi venerunt in partes Mezesinas ad Zobolsu et Thosu et, cum se ad invicem vidissent, *gaudio gavisi sunt magno*² et facto convivio unusquisque laudabat se ipsum de sua victoria. *Mane autem facto*³ Zobolsu, Thosu et Tuhutum inito consilio constituerunt, ut meta regni ducis Arpad esset in porta Mezesina. Tunc incole terre iussu eorum portas lapideas edificaverunt et clausuram magnam de arboribus per confinium regni fecerunt. Tunc hii tres prenominati viri omnia facta sua duci Arpad et suis primatibus per fideles nuntios mandaverunt. Quod cum renuntiatum fuisset duci Arpad et suis yobagyoni-
bus,⁴ *gavisi sunt gaudio magno valde* et more paganismo fecerunt

^a petitionemne *Ms*, *corr.* ex petitionemne

¹ Settlements with market rights developed into partially privileged, but seigneurially dependent, market towns (usually called *oppida* in contrast to free cities, *civitates*). This development was probably underway by 1200.

² Here and frequently below: Matth. 2.10

at the bidding of the people subjugated to his lord, Prince Árpád, caused to be founded a market between the Nyírség and the Tisza, to which also he assigned his name, so that it is called even now Tas Market.¹ After Szabolcs and Tas marched on from there, they reached the castle of Satu Mare and besieging the castle over three days of fighting they won victory. On the fourth day, entering the castle, they sent those warriors of Ménmarót that they could catch there to the most foul depths of the dungeon, *taken in iron fetters*, and they took the sons of those dwelling there as hostages. Having left the castle full of warriors, they turned towards the Mezeş Gates.

22 NYÍRSÉG

Tétény and his son, Horka, riding through the Nyírség, conquered a great number of people, from the woods of the Nyírség up to the Omsó-ér. And thus ascending, they arrived at Zaláu, with none *raising a hand against them*, because Prince Ménmarót and his men did not dare to fight them but began to defend the Criş River. Then Tétény and his son, Horka, marching on from Zaláu came to the area of Mezeş, where Szabolcs and Tas were, and, when they espied each other, they *rejoiced with great joy*² and, having made a feast, each one extolled himself for his victory. *When the morning was come*,³ Szabolcs, Tas, and Tétény, taking counsel, decided that the border of the realm of Prince Árpád should be at the Mezeş Gates. At their command, the dwellers of the land built stone gateways and a great obstacle of trees along the boundary of the realm. Then these three aforementioned men sent through faithful messengers word of all their deeds to Prince Árpád and his leading men. When this was reported to Prince Árpád and his great men⁴ they *rejoiced with exceeding great joy* and held a celebration in pagan

³ John 21.4.

⁴ For the meaning of *jobagio* (Hung.: *jobbágy*) in the thirteenth century, see above, p. XXXVII.

aldumas¹ et gaudium adnuntiantibus diversa dona presentaverunt. Dux vero Arpad et sui primates ob hanc causam leticie per totam unam ebdomadam sollempniter comedebant et fere singulis diebus inebriabantur propter eventum tante leticie. Et hoc audito dux Arpad et sui egressi sunt a Zeremsu et castra metati sunt iuxta fluvium Souiou a Thyscia usque ad^a fluvium Honrat.

XXIII. DE VICTORIA THOSU, ZOBULSU ET TUHUTUM.

Thosu et Zobolsu nec non Tuhutum cum vidissent, quod deus dedit eis victoriam magnam et subiugaverunt domino suo fere plures nationes illius terre, tunc *exaltati sunt nimis*² super habitatores illius terre et, dum ibi nullus adversarius^{b, 3} inventus esset eis, plures dies ibi manserunt, donec confinia regni firmaverunt obstaculis firmissimis. [SRH, 65]

XXIV. DE TERRA ULTRASILVANA.⁴

Et dum ibi diutius morarentur, tunc Tuhutum pater Horca, sicut erat vir astutus, dum cepisset audire ab incolis bonitatem terre Ultrasilvane, ubi Gelou quidam Blacus⁵ dominium tenebat, cepit ad hoc hanelare^c, quod, si posse esset, per gratiam ducis Arpad domini sui terram Ultrasilvanam sibi et suis posteris acquireret. Quod et sic factum fuit postea, nam terram Ultrasilvanam posteritas Tuhutum usque ad tempus sancti regis Stephani habuerunt et diu-

^a sad *Ms*

^b adversarius *Ms om.*

^c anelare *Ms corr.*

¹ See above, n. 5, p. 45.

² I Macc 8, 13.

³ Amended on the basis of ch. 44, below, p. 94.

manner¹ and to those who had brought the joyful news they gave diverse gifts. Thus gladdened, Prince Árpád and his leading men solemnly feasted for a whole week and almost every day they got drunk on account of such glad news. Having heard this, Prince Árpád and his men marched out from Szerencs and they encamped beside the Sajó River, from the Tisza to the Hernád River.

23 THE VICTORY OF TAS, SZABOLCS, AND TÉTÉNY

Tas, Szabolcs, and Tétény, when they saw that God had given them a great victory and that they had subjected almost all the nations of that land to their lord, *became greatly exalted*² over the inhabitants of that land, and as there was no one [opposing them],³ they stayed there for some days until they had reinforced the boundaries of the country with the strongest obstacles.

24 THE LAND OF TRANSYLVANIA⁴

While they tarried there some while, Tétény, father of Horka, when he had learned from the inhabitants of the goodness of the land of Transylvania, where Gyalu, a certain Vlach,⁵ held sway, as he was an astute man, he strove through the grace of Prince Árpád, his lord, to acquire, if he could, the land of Transylvania for himself and his posterity. This was later so done, for the posterity of Tétény held the land of Transylvania up to the time of the holy King Stephen

⁴ The following four chapters were clearly added later (most likely, by the author) as they interrupt the story of Ménmarót and also have other inconsistencies, such as calling Tétény, who in ch. 6 (above, p. 19) is identified as ancestor of the otherwise unknown Maglód kindred, as a forbear of the Transylvanian prince Gyula (in ch. 27, p. 65, below). The chapter title is also peculiar, for in ch. 11 (above, p. 33) Transylvania is called Erdeuelu (on which, see n. 4, *ibid.*) but here Ultrasilvana.

⁵ On Gyalu and the Vlachs, see Pop, *Romanians and Hungarians*, pp. 140-51, as in n. 1, p. 50 above.. The name comes from the place name Gilău.

cius habuissent, si minor Gyla cum duobus filiis suis Bivia et Bucna Christiani esse voluissent et semper contrarie sancto regi non fecissent, ut in sequentibus dicitur.¹

XXV. DE PRUDENTIA TUHUTI.

Predictus vero Tuhutum vir prudentissimus misit quendam virum astutum patrem Opaforcos Ogmand,² ut furtive ambulans provideret sibi qualitatem et fertilitatem terre Ultrasilvane et quales essent habitatores eius. Quod si posse esset, bellum cum eis committeret, nam volebat Tuhutum per se nomen sibi et terram acquirere. Ut dicunt nostri ioculatores: Omnes loca sibi aquirebant et nomen bonum accipiebant.³ Quid plura? Dum pater Ogmand speculator Tuhutum per circuitum more vulpino bonitatem et fertilitatem terre et habitatores eius inspexisset, quantum humanus visus valet, *ultra, quam* dici *potest, dilexit* et celerrimo cursu ad dominum suum reversus est. Qui cum venisset, domino suo de [SRH, 66] bonitate illius terre multa dixit. Quod terra illa irrigaretur optimis fluviis, quorum nomina et utilitates seriatim dixit, et quod in arenis eorum aurum colligerent et aurum terre illius optimum esset et ut ibi foderetur sal et salgema^a et habitatores terre illius viliores homines essent tocus mundi, quia essent Blasii⁴ et Sclavi, quia alia arma non haberent, nisi arcum et sagittas⁵ et dux eorum Geleou minus esset tenax et non haberet circa se bonos milites ut^b auderent stare contra audatiam Hungarorum, quia a Cumanis et Picenatis⁶ multas iniurias paterentur.

^a In the former editions: *salgenia*; the new reading was proposed by István Draskóczy.

^b et *Ms*

¹ See below, ch. 27, p. 65.

² A strange “duplication” in the naming, for in Hungarian *apa* means father (*pater*), thus (as below) Agmánd was the father of Farkas (‘Wolf’). Anonymus also missed a pun by comparing him below to a fox rather than a wolf.

³ While the second line of this jingle sounds similar to a line in the *Historia Alexandri* (2, p. 12), Hungarian minstrels may have sung something similar.

⁴ In contrast to other passages, Anonymus uses here the form *Blasii*. It is uncertain whether he knew of the Vlachs (that is, Romanians in modern terms) whose presence

and would have held it longer, had the younger Gyula with his two sons, Bolya and Bonyha, wished to be Christians and not always opposed the holy king, as will be said in the following.¹

25 THE RESOURCEFULNESS OF TÉTÉNY

The aforesaid Tétény, a most resourceful man, sent a certain astute man, father Agmánd Apafarkas,² to spy out for him by going around secretly the quality and fertility of the land of Transylvania and what its inhabitants were like, so that he might, if he could, go to war with them, for Tétény wished thereby to acquire a name and land for himself. As our minstrels say: “All the land they can they take, and a name for themselves make.”³ What more? When father Agmánd, Tétény’s scout, circling like a fox, viewed, as far as the human eye may, the goodness and fertility of the land and its inhabitants, *he loved it more than can be* said and returned most swiftly to his lord. When he arrived, he spoke much to his lord of the goodness of that land: that that land was washed by the best rivers, whose names and merits he listed, that in their sands they gathered gold and that the gold of that land was the best, and that they mined there salt and had salt crystals. The inhabitants of that land were the basest of the whole world, because they were Vlachs⁴ and Slavs, and because they had nothing else for arms than bows and arrows.⁵ Their prince, Gyalu, was not steadfast and did not have around him good warriors who dared stand against the daring of the Hungarians, because they had suffered many injuries from the Cumans and Pechenegs.⁶

in Transylvania is recorded already somewhat before the author’s times, in the late twelfth century.

⁵ Note that in other contexts the notary praises the Hungarians for fighting with bows and arrows.

⁶ The Pechenegs were a steppe people who settled in Hungary and in many other places throughout South-Eastern Europe from the tenth century onwards; see András Pálóczi-Horváth, *Pechenegs, Cumans, Lasians*, trans. Timothy Wilkinson (Budapest: Corvina, 1989).

XXVI. QUOMODO CONTRA GELOU^a ITUM EST.

Tunc Tuhutum audita bonitate terre illius misit legatos suos ad ducem Arpad, ut sibi licentiam daret ultra silvas eundi contra Gelou ducem pugnare. Dux vero Arpad inito consilio voluntatem Tuhutum laudavit et ei licentiam ultra silvas eundi contra Gelou pugnare concessit. Hoc dum Tuhutum audivisset a legato, preparavit se cum suis militibus et dimissis ibi sociis suis egressus est ultra silvas versus orientem contra Gelou ducem Blacorum. Gelou [SRH, 67] vero dux Ultrasilvanus^b audiens adventum eius congregavit exercitum suum et cepit velocissimo cursu equitare obviam ei, ut eum per portas Mezesinas prohiberet, sed Tuhutum uno die silvam pertransiens ad fluvium Almas pervenit. Tunc uterque exercitus ad invicem pervenerunt medio fluvio interiacente. Dux vero Gelou volebat, quod ibi eos prohiberet cum sagittariis suis.

XXVII. DE MORTE GELOU^c

Mane autem facto Tuhutum ante auroram divisit exercitum suum in duas partes et partem alteram misit parum superius, ut transito fluvio militibus Gelou nescientibus pugnam ingrederentur. Quod sic factum est. Et quia levem habuerunt transitum utraque acies pariter ad pugnam pervenerunt et pugnatum est inter eos acriter, sed victi sunt milites ducis Gelou et ex eis multi interfecti, plures vero capti. Cum Gelou dux eorum hoc vidisset, tunc pro defensione vite cum paucis fugam cepit. Qui cum fugeret properans ad castrum suum iuxta fluvium Zomus positum, milites Tuhutum audaci cursu persequentes ducem Geloum iuxta fluvium Copus¹ interfecerunt. Tunc *habitatores terre* videntes mortem domini sui sua propria voluntate dextram dantes² [SRH, 68] dominum sibi elegerunt Tuhu-

^a Gelu *Ms*

^b Ultrasilvanis *Ms*

^c Gelu *Ms*

¹ A small river that runs into the Someş at Gilău.

26 HOW THEY CAMPAIGNED AGAINST GYALU

Then Tétény, having heard of the goodness of that land, sent his envoys to Prince Árpád to ask his permission to cross the forest to fight Prince Gyalu. Prince Árpád, having taken counsel, commended Tétény's wish and he gave him permission to cross the forest to fight Prince Gyalu. When Tétény heard this from an envoy, he readied himself with his warriors and, having left his companions there, marched eastwards beyond the forest against Gyalu, prince of the Vlachs. Gyalu, prince of Transylvania, hearing of his arrival, gathered his army and rode speedily towards him in order to stop him at the Mezeş Gates, but Tétény, crossing the forest in one day, arrived at the Almaş River. Then both armies came upon each other, with the river lying between them. Prince Gyalu planned to stop them there with his archers.

27 THE DEATH OF GYALU

When the morning was come, before daybreak, Tétény divided his army in two and he sent one part a little way upstream so that, having crossed the river, they might attack while Gyalu's warriors were still unawares. This was done. And because they had an easy crossing, both forces arrived on the field at the same time and they fought fiercely, but the warriors of Prince Gyalu were defeated and many of them slain and more captured. When Gyalu, their prince, saw this, he fled for his life along with a few men. As he was in flight, hastening to his castle beside the Someş River, Tétény's warriors, boldly pursuing Prince Gyalu, slew him beside the Câpuş River.¹ Then the *inhabitants of the land*, seeing the death of their lord, giving the right hand² of their own free will, chose for them-

² For the gesture of "giving the right hand," which might variously be used as a sign of trust or of submission, see Yvonne Friedman, "Gestures of Conciliation: Peacemaking Endeavors in the Latin East," in *In Laudem Hiersolomitani: Studies in Crusades and Medieval Culture, Essays in Honour of Benjamin Z. Kedar*, ed. Iris Shagrir et al. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 31–48 (here at p. 37).

tum patrem Horca et in loco illo, qui dicitur Esculeu, fidem cum iuramento firmaverunt et a die illo locus ille nuncupatus est Esculeu eo, quod ibi iuraverunt.¹ Tuhutum vero a die illo terram illam obtinuit *pacifice et feliciter*,² sed posteritas eius usque ad tempora sancti regis Stephani obtinuit. Tuhutum vero genuit Horcam, Horca genuit Geulam³ [SRH, 69] et Zumbor^a, Geula genuit duas filias, quarum una vocabatur Caroldu^b et altera Saroltu et Sarolt fuit mater sancti regis Stephani. Zumbor vero genuit minorem Geulam patrem Bue et Bucne, tempore cuius sanctus rex Stephanus subiugavit sibi terram Ultrasilvanam. Et ipsum Geulam vinctum in Hungariam duxit et per omnes dies vite sue carceratum tenuit eo, quod in fide esset vanus et noluit esse Christianus⁴ et multa contraria faciebat sancto regi Stephano, quamvis fuisset ex cognatione matris sue.⁵ [SRH, 70]

XXVIII. DE DUCE MENUMORUT.

Tosu vero et Zobolsu adepta victoria⁶ reversi sunt ad ducem Arpad subiugando totum populum a fluvio Zomus usque ad Crisium et nullus contra eos ausus fuit manus levare. Et ipse Menumorout dux eorum magis preparabat vias suas in Greciam eundi, quam contra eos veniendi. Et deinde egressi descenderunt iuxta quendam fluvium nomine Humusouer et venerunt usque ad lutum Zerep. Et deinde egressi venerunt usque ad Zeguholmu^c et ibi volebant transire Crisium, ut contra Menumorout pugnarent, sed venientes mi-

^a Zubor *Ms*

^b Carodu *Ms corr.*

^c Zeguhulmu *Ms corr.*

¹ Today's Aștileu. *Eskü* is the Hungarian for 'oath,' which is why we have kept the Hungarian form.

² Recurrent formula in charters meaning undisturbed/unchallenged dominion of landed property.

³ See above, p. 53.

selves as lord Tétény, father of Horka, and in that place which is called Esküllő, they confirmed their pledge with an oath and from that day the place is called Esküllő, because they swore there.¹ Tétény possessed that land *peacefully and happily*² from that day, but his posterity possessed it only up to the times of the holy King Stephen. Tétény begat Horka, Horka begat Gyula³ and Zombor, Gyula begat two daughters, of whom one was called Karold and the other Sarolt, and Sarolt was the mother of the holy King Stephen. Zombor begat the younger Gyula, father of Bolya and Bonyha, during whose time the holy King Stephen subjugated to himself the land of Transylvania and led Gyula in fetters to Hungary and held him imprisoned for all the days of his life for in faith he was not steady and to be a Christian not ready,⁴ and did many things against the holy King Stephen, even though he was of the line of his mother.⁵

28 PRINCE MÉNMARÓT

Tas and Szabolcs, with victory won,⁶ returned to Prince Árpád, subduing the whole people from the Someş River to the Criş River, and none dared *raise a hand* against them. Ménmarót, their prince, preferred to make ready his escape to Greece than to proceed against them. Thereafter, marching on, they descended by a certain river called Omsó-ér to the marsh of Szerép. And then, marching on, they reached Szeghalom and they wanted to cross the Körös/Criş River there, in order to fight against Ménmarót,

⁴ A rhyming couplet.

⁵ Gyula, King Stephen's uncle, was most likely Christian, as his father had been baptized in Constantinople and supported the Byzantine mission to Hungary. He was defeated by the king in 1003 because he opposed Stephen's monarchy. The history of the Gyulas is related in detail in Béla Köpeczi, ed., *History of Transylvania*, 3 vols. (Boulder CO: Social Science Monographs: 2001), vol. 1, pp. 382–404; also available electronically at <http://vmek.oszk.hu/03400/03407/html/1.html>.

⁶ See ch. 23, p. 59 above.

lites Menumorout eis transitum prohibuerunt. Deinde egressi per diem unum equitantes castra metati sunt iuxta Parvos Montes¹ et hinc iuxta fluvium Turu equitantes usque ad Thysciam pervenerunt. Et in portu Drugma fluvium Thyscie transnavigantes, ubi etiam per gratiam Arpad ducis cuidam Cumano militi nomine Huhot, magnam terram aquisiverunt, quam posteritas eius usque nunc habuerunt.

XXIX. DE REDITU EORUM.

Dum navigassent fluvium Thyscie, nuntios suos ad ducem Arpadium premiserunt, qui gaudia salutis nuntiarent. Qui cum ad ducem Arpad venissent et gaudia ei annuntiassent, quod Zobolsu et Thosu^a cum exercitu suo sani et incolumes [SRH, 71] reversi essent et portum Drugma cum omnibus exercitibus suis transnavigassent. Hoc cum audivisset dux Arpad, quod Thosu^b et Zobolsu cum omnibus exercitibus suis sani et incolumes reversi essent et fluvium Thyscie transnavigassent, fecit magnum convivium et gaudium annuntiantibus diversa dedit donaria. Tunc Thosu et Zobolsu cum curiam ducis intrare vellent, dux omnes suos milites obviam eis premisit et sic eos cum magno gaudio recepit et, sicut mos est bonorum dominorum suos diligere fideles, fere cottidie eos faciebat ad mensam suam comedere² et multa eis dona presentabat. Similiter etiam ipsi duci Arpad diversa dona ac filios incolarum in obsides eis positos presentaverunt.

^a Tusio *Ms*

^b ex Thaso *Ms corr.*

but Ménmarót's warriors came and denied them the crossing. Then, marching on, after a day's ride, they encamped beside the Small Hills.¹ Riding from there along the Túr River, they arrived at the Tisza and, crossing the Tisza River at the ford of Dorogma, they obtained there by the grace of Prince Árpád a great land for a certain Cuman warrior, Ohat by name, which his descendants still have.

29 THEIR RETURN

Having crossed the Tisza River, they sent in advance their messengers to Prince Árpád to announce the glad news, who, when they came to Prince Árpád, were to announce to him the glad news that Szabolcs and Tas had returned with their army safe and sound and had crossed the ford of Dorogma with all their armies. When Prince Árpád heard that Tas and Szabolcs had returned with all their armies safe and sound and had crossed the Tisza River, he made a great feast and gave diverse gifts to those who had brought the glad news. Then, when Tas and Szabolcs sought to enter the prince's court, the prince sent in advance all his warriors to meet them and he thus received them with great joy and, as it is the custom of good lords to prize their faithful men, he had them eat almost every day at his table² and gave them many gifts. They likewise gave to Prince Árpád diverse gifts and the sons of the inhabitants handed to them as hostages.

¹ The author translates the Hungarian "Apróhalmok."

² For the significance of eating at the lord's table, see generally Julie Kerr, "Food, Drink and Lodging: Hospitality in Twelfth-Century England," *Haskins Society Journal* 18 (2006), pp. 72–92 (here pp. 80–1); Joachim Bumke, *Courtly Culture: Literature and Society in the High Middle Ages* (New York: Overlook Press, 2000), pp. 202–19.

XXX. DE DUCE SALANO.

Dux vero Arpad transactis quibusdam diebus inito consilio et sui nobiles miserunt nuntios suos ad ducem Salanum, qui nuntiarent ei victoriam Thosu et Zobolsu^a nec non et Tuhutum quasi pro gaudio et peterent ab eo terram usque ad fluvium Zogea. Quod sic factum est. Missi sunt enim Etu et Voyta, qui, cum invenissent ducem Salanum in sabulo Olpar, mandata gaudia nuntiaverunt et terram ab eo usque ad fluvium Zogea postulaverunt. Salanus dux hoc audito in maximum irruit timorem et terram ab ipso postulatam timore percussus usque ad fluvium Zogea duci Arpad^b concessit et legatis diversa dona presentavit. Septimo autem die Etu et Voyta accepta licentia ad dominum suum sunt reversi, quos dux Arpad honorifice recepit et audita legatione eorum *factum est gaudium magnum* in curia ducis et cepit dux donare suis fidelibus loca et possessiones magnas.

XXXI. DE EGRESSU ZEREMSU.

Postea dux et sui principes egressi sunt de Zeremsu et transnavigaverunt fluvium Souyou in illo loco, ubi fons Honrad descendit, et castra metai sunt iuxta fluvium Heuyou usque ad [SRH, 72] Thysciam^c et usque ad Emeud et permanserunt ibi per unum mensem. Ibi etiam dux dedit Bungere nec patri Borsu terram magnam a fluvio Topulucea^d usque ad fluvium Souyou, que nunc vocatur Miscoucy, et dedit ei castrum, quod dicitur Geuru,¹ et illud castrum filius suus Borsu cum suo castro, quod dicitur Borsod, unum fecit comitatum.²

^a Bulsuu *Ms*

^b ap(ad) *Ms corr.*

^c hyciam *Ms corr.*

^d Tapulucea *Ms corr.*

30 PRINCE SALAN

After some days had passed, having taken counsel, Árpád and his noblemen sent envoys to Prince Salan to announce to him, as if it were good news, the victory of Tas, Szabolcs and Tétény and to ask from him the land up to the Zagyva River. This was done. Etu and Vajta were sent who, when they had found Prince Salan on the sands of Alpár, announced the glad news and claimed from him the land up to the Zagyva River. Prince Salan, having heard this, was overtaken by the greatest fear and, moved by fear, conceded to Prince Árpád the land claimed by him up to the Zagyva River and he gave diverse gifts to the envoys. On the seventh day, Etu and Vajta, having been granted leave, returned to their lord, and Prince Árpád received them honorably and, having heard their report, *great rejoicing was made* in the prince's court and the prince gave to his faithful men villages and large estates.

31 THEIR MARCHING OUT FROM SZERENCs

Next the prince and his leading men marched out from Szerencs and they crossed the Sajó River at that place where the spring of Hernád flows into it, and they encamped beside the Hejő River between the Tisza and Emőd where they stayed for a month. There the prince gave to Böngér, father of Bors, a great land from the Tapolca River to the Sajó River, which is now called Miskolc, and gave him a castle, which is called Győr,¹ and his son, Bors, united that castle with his own castle, which is called Borsod, into one county.²

¹ Now Diósgyőr.

² Anonymus has attempted to explain in his own way why County Borsod had two main castles, unusual in his time.

XXXII. DE CASTRO URSUUR ET FLUVIO EGUR.

Postea dux Arpad^a et sui nobiles hinc egressi venientes usque ad fluvium Naragy et castra metati sunt iuxta rivulos aquarum a loco illo, qui nunc dicitur Casu, ubi etiam dedit terram magnam Ousadunec patri Ursuur et ibi postea Ursuur [SRH, 73] filius eius ad caput eiusdem fluminis castrum construxit, quod nunc castrum Ursuur¹ nuncupatur. Hinc vero dux Arpad et sui egressi venerunt usque ad fluvium Egur et ibi paratis tuguriis plures dies permanserunt et montem illum, super quem duci foliata fecerunt, nominaverunt Zenuholmu et castra eorum fuerunt a fluvio Ystoros usque ad castrum Purozlou. Deinde egressi venerunt usque ad fluvium Zogea et castra metati sunt per crepitudinem eiusdem fluminis a Thyscia usque ad silvam Matra et subiugaverunt sibi omnes habitatores terre a Crisio^b usque ad fluvium Zogeva et usque ad silvam Zepus. Tunc dux Arpad in silva Matra dedit terram magnam Edu nec et Edumer nec^c ubi postea Pota, nepos eorum, castrum construxit, ex quorum etiam progenie longo post tempore rex Samuel descendit, qui pro sua pietate Oba vocabatur.² [SRH, 74]

XXXIII. DE CASTRO NOUGRAD ET NITRA.

In eisdem temporibus dux Arpad, dum se per milites suos vidisset ita sublimatum et tutum esse, tunc habito inter se consilio misit multos milites in expeditionem, qui subiugarent sibi populum de castro Gumur et Nougrad, et, si fortuna eis faveret, tunc ascenderent versus fines Boemorum usque ad castrum Nitra. Quibus etiam militibus in expeditionem euntibus *principes et ductores*³ constituit duos filios avunculi sui Hulec, Zuardum et Cadusam

^a Apad *Ms corr.*

^b Grisio *Ms*

^c Edumenec *Ms*

¹ This castle was excavated by archaeologists near the village of Sály; see Mesterházy, "Az Őrsúr nemzetség," as in n. 4, p. 48 above.

32 THE CASTLE OF ÖRSÚR AND THE EGER RIVER

Afterwards, Prince Árpád and his noblemen, marching on from there, came to the Nyárád River and they encamped beside the brooks at that place which is now called Kács, where he gave a great land to Ócsád, father of Örsúr; and his son, Örsúr, later built a castle at the head of the river, which is now called the castle of Örsúr.¹ Thence Prince Árpád and his men, marching on, reached the Eger River and, having built huts, stayed there some days and the mountain upon which they made a leafy shade for the prince, they called Színhalom and their encampments were from the Ostoros River to the castle of Poroszló. Next, marching ahead, they arrived at the Zagyva River and they encamped along the banks of the river from the Tisza to the forest of Mátra, and they conquered all the inhabitants of the land from the Körös to the Zagyva River and to the forest of Spiš. Then Prince Árpád gave a great land in the forest of Mátra to Ed and Edemen, where afterwards, Pata, their nephew, built a castle, of whose line came a long time later King Samuel, who on account of his piety was called Aba.²

33 THE CASTLES OF NÓGRÁD AND NITRA

At the same time, Prince Árpád, when he saw himself thus exalted and protected by his warriors, having taken counsel with them, sent many warriors off on campaign to conquer the people of the castles of Gemer and Nógrád and, should fortune favor them, then to ascend to the border of the Czechs as far as the castle of Nitra. To the warriors going on campaign, he assigned as *chief men and commanders*³ the two sons of his uncle Hülek, Zovárd and Kadocsa, as well as

² Samuel Aba, 1041–4. The Aba name is recorded only by Anonymus. The implication of piety may be based on association with the Latin *abbas* ('abbot') or the Turkic *oba* 'father.' A kindred called Aba is known from the notary's time. The county of Abaúj, named after the eleventh-century earthwork fort of Abaújtúr, is also associated with the Aba kindred.

³ Dares, ch. 18 (p. 23).

nec non Hubam, unum de principalibus personis. Tunc hii tres domini accepta licentia a duce Arpad egressi sunt a loco illo, qui dicitur Paztuh, equitantes iuxta fluvium Hongun^a et eundem fluvium transierunt iuxta fluvium Souyou. Et inde egressi sunt per partes castri Gumur et venerunt usque ad montem Bulhadu et inde ad partes Nougrad venientes usque ad fluvium Caliga pervenerunt. Hinc vero egredientes per [SRH, 75] crepitudinem Danubii iverunt et fluvium Wereucea^b transeuntes castra metati sunt iuxta fluvium Ypul. Et quia divina gratia in eis erat, timuit eos omnis homo et maxime ideo timebant eos, quia audierant ducem Arpadium filium Almi ducis ex progenie Athile regis descendisse. Tunc omnes Sclavi *habitatores terre*, qui primo erant Salani ducis, propter timorem eorum se sua libera sponte subiugaverunt eis nullo *manum sublevante*. Et ita cum magno timore et tremore serviebant eis, ac si olim domini eorum fuissent. Tunc Zuardu et Cadusa nec non Huba, a quo prudens Zemera descendit,¹ cum vidissent populum multum sine bello ipsis subiugatum, fecerunt magnum convivium et melioribus habitatoribus terre, qui filios suos in obsoles dederant, diversa dona presentaverunt et blandis verbis sub dominium ducis Arpad sine bello subiugaverunt et ipsos secum in expeditionem duxerunt, filios vero eorum in obsoles accipientes ad ducem Arpad cum diversis muneribus remiserunt, unde dux et sui nobiles leciores facti sunt solito, nuntiis gaudia ferentibus multa dederunt dona.

XXXIV. DE FLUVIO GRON ET CASTRO BORSU.

Interea Zuard et Cadusa, filii Hulec, nec non Huba et omnis exercitus eorum fluvium Ypul iuxta Danubium transierunt et alio die transito fluvio Gron castra metati sunt in campo iuxta quoddam

^a Hongun *Ms corr.*

^b Wereucea *Ms*

Huba, one of the leading persons. Then these three lords, having obtained leave from Prince Árpád, marched out from that place which is called Pásztó, riding along the Hangony River, and they crossed the river near the Sajó River. From there they marched through the region of the castle of Gemer and reached the mountain of Bolhád and, arriving thence at the region of Nógrád, they reached the Galga River. Marching from there, they went along the bank of the Danube and, crossing the Verőce River, they encamped beside the Ipoly River. And because divine grace was in them, all feared them and they feared them most greatly because they had heard that Prince Árpád, son of Prince Álmos, was descended of the line of King Attila. Then all the Slavs, *the inhabitants of the land*, who were formerly Prince Salan's, for fear of them subordinated themselves to them of their own free will, with no one *raising a hand*. Thus, with great fear and trembling, they served them as if they were their lords of old. Then Zovárd, Kadocsa and Huba—from whom the nimble Szemere¹ is descended—when they saw the many people subjugated to them without war, made a great feast and they gave diverse gifts to the higher ranking inhabitants of the land, who had given their sons as hostages, and they brought them with gentle words under the rule of Prince Árpád without war. They enlisted them on their campaign; their sons, however, they took as hostages and sent them with diverse gifts to Prince Árpád, on account of which the prince and his noblemen *were happier than usual*, and they gave many gifts to the messengers who brought the glad news.

34 THE HRON RIVER AND THE CASTLE OF BORS

In the mean time, Zovárd and Kadocsa, sons of Hülek, as well as Huba and their entire army crossed the Ipel' River beside the Danube and the next day, having crossed the Hron River, encamped

¹ This Szemere may be identical with *ispán "Zemere Comes de Simtei"* mentioned in a charter of ca. 1175 (RA, No. 128). The castle of Semppte (Šintava) is in western Slovakia, near Trnava. See above, ch. 6, p. 19.

castellum terreum, quod nuncupatur Varod.¹ Et capto illo castro manserunt ibi tres dies expectantes adventum Borsu filii Bunger^a, quem dux Arpad cum magno exercitu miserat [SRH, 76] in auxilium eorum. Quarto die cum Borsu ad eos venisset cum valida manu, timuerunt eos omnes *incole terre* et nullus ausus fuit *levare manus* contra eos. Tunc hii IIII^{or} domini inito inter se consilio per petitionem incolarum sibi fidelium constituerunt, ut tertia pars de exercitu cum *incolis terre* irent in silvam Zovolon, qui facerent in confinio regni municiones fortes tam de lapidibus quam etiam de lignis, ut ne aliquando Boemy vel Polony possent intrare causa furti et rapine in regnum eorum. Tunc communi consilio hac de causa missus est Borsu filius Bunger^b cum suis militibus, et cum equitarent iuxta fluvium Gron, cervus fuga lapsus ante eos cacumina montium ascendit, quem Borsu celerrimo cursu persecutus ictibus sagittarum in vertice montium interfecit.² Et tunc Borsu, cum montes illos in circum aspexisset, in memoriam duxit, ut ibi castrum construeret, et statim congregata multitudo civium in vertice unius altioris montis castrum fortissimum construxit, cui nomen suum imposuit proprium, ut castrum Borsu³ nuncupatur. Et inde cum exercitibus suis usque ad silvam Zovolon perrexit et maximam munitionem de lapidibus facere precepit, quod nunc castrum Borssed Zovolon^{c, 4} vocatur.

^a Bumger *Ms*

^b Buger *Ms*

^c Zovolon *Ms corr.*

on the plain beside a small earthen castle called Várad.¹ Having captured that castle, they stayed there for three days, awaiting the arrival of Bors, son of Böngér, whom Prince Árpád had sent with a great army to support them. On the fourth day, when Bors had come to them with a strong force, all the *inhabitants of the land* feared them and none dared *raise a hand* against them. Then these four lords, having taken counsel among themselves, at the bidding of those of the inhabitants that were faithful to them, decided that the third part of the army should go with the *inhabitants of the land* to the forest of Zvolen, to make strong fortifications on the border of the realm both of stone and wood lest at any time the Czechs or the Poles should enter their realm to rob and plunder. Then, by common counsel, Bors, son of Böngér, was sent out to that end with his warriors. As they rode along the Hron River, a stag in flight sped up the tops of the mountains before them, which Bors, pursuing most speedily, killed on the peak of the mountains with shots of his arrows.² Then Bors, as he looked round about upon those mountains, thought to build a castle there and having at once gathered a good many men of the castle, he built a very strong castle on the top of one of the higher mountains, to which he gave his own name, so that it is called the castle of Bors.³ And thence he proceeded with his armies to the forest of Zvolen and he ordered a very great fortification to be made of stone, which is now called the castle of “Borséd” Zvolen.⁴

¹ Now Tekovský Hrádok, Slovakia. Anonymus understood here, as before, the ending -d to constitute a diminutive, which is why he calls Várad a *castellum* ('small castle')

² A stag pointing to a place for a castle or church is a widespread motif; Anonymus may have known the passage in the Hungarian Chronicle (ch. 124; SRH 1, p. 394–5) where a miraculous stag pointed out to the dukes Géza and Ladislas the place for the foundation of the church of Vác. An even more likely model could have been the *Excidium Troie*, ch. 37, p. 77 (whence the actual words here are borrowed); cf. also *Historia Alexandri*, 1, p. 68.

³ Now Starý Tekov, Slovakia.

⁴ Most likely the partially excavated stone castle Pusztavár (Pustý Hrad), near Zvolen, close to a brook called Borzovo.

XXXV. DE NITRIA CIVITATE.

Zuardu et Cadusa nec non Huba post discessum Borsu cum omnibus exercitibus suis egressi de castro, quod dicitur Warod, ultra silvam Tursoc castra metati sunt iuxta fluvium Sytva. [SRH, 77] Altera autem die miserunt quosdam speculatores viros, quos sciebant esse audaces, qui transirent fluvium Nitra et viderent, si sine bello possent transmeare usque ad civitatem Nytra. Qui cum velocissimo cursu venissent usque ad rivulum Turmas, ubi descendit in rivulum Nytre, viderunt habitatores illius provincie Sclavos et Boemos eis obsistere cum adiutorio ducis Boemorum, quia mortuo Athila rege terram, que iacet inter Wag et Gron a Danubio usque ad fluvium Morova, dux Boemorum sibi preoccupaverat et in unum ducatum¹ fecerat et tunc tempore per gratiam ducis Boemorum dux Nitriensis² factus erat Zubur.

XXXVI. DE SPECULATORIBUS MISSIS A DUCIBUS.

Cum autem speculatores illi, qui fuerant missi a Zuard et Cadusa, vidissent Sclavos et Boemos eis obsistere non valentes, miserunt sagittas tribus vicibus super eos et quosdam ex ipsis [SRH, 78] ictibus sagittarum interfecerunt. Hoc cum vidissent Sclavi et Boemi, quos ad custodiam constituerat Zubur, quod isti, qui dicuntur Hetumoger, talibus uterentur armis, timuerunt valde, quia talis armatura nunquam visa fuit eis,³ statim nuntiaverunt Zuburio, domino eorum, ceterisque principibus eiusdem provintie.

¹ A charter dated to 1086, quoted by Cosmas of Prague—*Die Chronik der Böhmen des Cosmas von Prag*, ed. Bertold Bretholz, MGH SS NS 2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1923), pp. 136–40—listing the borders of the diocese of Prague (and thus the area of the duchy of Bohemia) included *Moravia usque ad fluvium cui nomen est Wag* (p. 139). It has been assumed that the extent of Bohemia described by Cosmas was in fact realistic around 1000 AD.

35 THE CITY OF NITRA

After Bors's departure, Zovárd, Kadocsa, and Huba, marching on with all their armies from the castle that is called Várad, encamped beyond the Turčok wood beside the Žitava River. The next day, they sent scouts, men whom they knew to be daring, to cross the Nitra River to see whether they could get across to the city of Nitra without a battle. When they had arrived by the swiftest course at the Tormoš brook, where it flows into the Nitra brook, they saw the inhabitants of that province, Slavs and Czechs, opposing them supported by the duke of the Czechs, because after the death of King Attila, the duke of the Czechs had seized the land which lies between the Váh and the Hron, from the Danube to the Morava River, and made it one duchy.¹ At that time Zobor was made duke of Nitra² by the grace of the duke of the Czechs.

36 THE SCOUTS SENT OUT BY THE DUKES

When those scouts who had been sent by Zovárd and Kadocsa recognized that the Slavs and Czechs were unable to withstand them, they released their arrows three times over them and killed some of them with the shots of their arrows. When the Slavs and Czechs whom Zobor had assigned to the defense saw how those who were called the Hetumoger used such arms, they feared greatly, because such weaponry had never been seen by them,³ and they immediately told Zobor, their lord, and the other leaders of the province.

² On the possible existence of a "duchy of Nitra" see Alexander T. Ruttikay, "Neutra (Nitra) und Zobor," in Alfried Wiczorek and Hans-Martin Hinz, eds., *Europas Mitte um 1000. Beiträge zur Geschichte, Kunst und Archäologie*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Theiss, 2000), vol. 2, pp. 628–32. Zobor's name in fact comes from Mt Zobor near Nitra.

³ Anonymus may allude here to the use of crossbows by the Hungarians, for which see also below, ch. 51 (p. 111).

XXXVII. DE PUGNA DUCUM ARPADII.

Tunc Zubur hoc audito cum adiutorio Boemorum armata multitudine obviam eis venit pugnaturus. Et dum uterque exercitus ad fluvium Nitra pervenissent, Zuardu, Cadusa et Huba volebant transire fluvium, sed Zubur dux Nitriensis et sui milites contra eos diutissime certantes nullomodo eis transitum concedere volebant. Et cum diu inter se certassent, Hungarii ex Boemis et Sclavis ictibus sagittarum multos interficiebant, sed per tres dies nullo modo Hungarii propter inundationem aquarum transitum habuissent, tandem IIII die Boemi et omnes Nytrienses Sclavi videntes audaciam Hungarorum et percussiones sagittarum non sufferentes fuga lapsi sunt et velocissimo cursu pro defensione vite in civitatem Nitriam inclusi sunt cum magno timore, quos Zuardu, Cadusa et Huba nec non ceteri milites persequentes eos usque ad civitatem et ex eis quosdam interfecerunt et quosdam vulneraverunt et alios ceperunt. Zubur vero dux eorum, dum fugiendo contra eos pugnare vellet, per lanceam Caduse cecidit et captus in custodiam traditus est, ceteri vero in civitatem inclusi, quasi muti remanserunt. Alio namque die Zuard, Cadusa et Huba armata multitudine exercituum ceperunt fortiter expugnare civitatem Nitriam multis modis. Et dedit eis deus victoriam magnam et pugnantes intraverunt eam et fusus est per eos ibi sanguis multorum adversariorum. Tunc iracundia ducti Zuburium ducem illius provincie, quem nudius tertius ceperant, supra montem excelsum ducentes laqueo suspenderunt, unde mons ille a die illo usque nunc mons Zubur nuncupatur. Et propter hoc factum timuerunt eos omnes homines [SRH, 79] illius patrie et omnes nobiles filios suos eis in obsides^a dederunt et omnes nationes illius terre se subiugaverunt sibi usque ad fluvium Wag. Et quia gratia dei antecedebat eos, non solummodo ipsos subiugaverunt, verum etiam omnia castra eorum ceperunt, quorum nomina hec sunt usque modo: Stumtey, Colgoucy, Trunsun^b, Blundus et Bana,¹ et ordinatis

^a in obsides eis *Ms corr.*

^b Trusun *Ms*

¹ While the first four can be with some certainty identified with present-day settlements or castles, *Bana* (perhaps for Hungarian Bánya 'mine') could be a reference to

37 THE BATTLE OF THE DUKES OF ÁRPÁD

Then Zobor, having heard this, went supported by the Czechs to oppose them with an armed host. When both armies arrived at the Nitra River, Zovárd, Kadocsa and Huba wished to cross the river, but Zobor, duke of Nitra, and his warriors fought them for a very long time and were in no way willing to concede the crossing. And as they fought lengthily together, the Hungarians killed many of the Czechs and Slavs with arrow shots, but for three days the Hungarians were in no way able to make a crossing on account of the swell of the waters. At last, on the fourth day, the Czechs and all the Nitra Slavs, seeing the daring of the Hungarians and finding the shots of the arrows unendurable, fell to flight and to save their lives most speedily shut themselves up in great fear in the city of Nitra. Zovárd, Kadocsa and Huba and the other warriors chased them to the city and some they killed, some they wounded, and others they captured. Zobor, their duke, who while in flight sought to fight them, was struck by Kadocsa's lance and, having been captured, was put in custody; the others, shut up in the city, waited dumbstruck. The next day, Zovárd, Kadocsa and Huba with an armed host of armies began bravely to storm the city of Nitra in many ways. And God gave them a great victory and they entered the city fighting and the blood of many foes was shed there by them. Then they, moved by anger, taking Zobor, the duke of that province, whom they had captured two days before, onto a high mountain, hanged him from a noose, whence that mountain is still called Mount Zobor. And on account of that deed, all the men of that country feared them and all the noblemen gave their sons to them as hostages and all the nations of that land, as far as the Váh River, subjected themselves to them. And because the grace of God went before them, not only did they conquer them but also took all their castles, the names of which are up until now: Šintava, Hlohovec, Trenčín, Beckov and Bana¹; and having assigned guards to the castles they went up to the Morava River,

several locations. Banka was proposed by Györffy; see György Györffy, *Geographia historica Hungariae tempore stirpis Arpadinae. Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza*, 4 vols. (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1963–1998), pp. 349–50.

custodibus castrorum iverunt usque ad fluvium Moroa et firmatis obstaculis constituerunt terminos regni Hungarorum usque ad Boronam et usque ad Saruvar¹ et adepta victoria reversi sunt ad ducem Arpad et [SRH, 80] omnes infideles illius terre *ferreis catenis ligatos* secum duxerunt. Cumque Zuard, Cadusa nec non Huba ad ducem Arpad cum omnibus captivis suis venissent sani et incolumes, *factum est gaudium magnum* in curia ducis. Dux Arpad consilio et petitione suorum nobilium donavit accepto iuramento infidelium terras in diversis locis predictis infidelibus de partibus Nytrie ductis, ut ne aliquando infideliores facti repatriando nocerent sibi fidelibus in confinio Nitrie habitantibus. Et in eodem gaudio dux Arpad Hubam fecit comitem Nitriensem et aliorum castrorum et dedit ei terram propriam iuxta fluvium Sytuva usque ad silvam^a Tursoc.

XXXVIII. DE EXERCITU GRECORUM ET BULGARORUM,

Interea dux Salanus, dum intellexisset potentiam et facta Hungarorum, timuit, ut ne aliquando iracundia ducti eum expellerent de regno suo. Tunc inito consilio suorum misit legatos suos ad imperatorem Grecorum et ducem Bulgarorum, ut sibi auxilium darent causa pugne contra Arpad ducem Hungarorum. Imperator Grecorum et dux Bulgarorum magnum exercitum Salano duci miserunt. Qui cum ad ducem Salanum pervenissent, in illo loco, qui dicitur Tetel, *factum est gaudium magnum* in curia ducis. Secundo autem die dux Salanus et sui nobiles inito consilio miserunt [SRH, 81] legatos ad ducem Arpad dicendo, ut terram eorum dimitteret et ad natale solum repatriare inciperet. Qui cum ad ducem Arpad pervenissent ac mandata Salani ducis ei dixissent, dux Arpad et sui

^a Sil Ms

¹ These castles, apparently on the Moravian border, cannot be identified with any certainty. The name Borona may reflect the Slavic *brona* 'gate, defense.' See Loránd

and they fixed and reinforced with obstacles the bounds of the realm of the Hungarians as far as Borona and Saruvar.¹ Victory won, they returned to Prince Árpád, and took with them all the faithless men of that land *bound in iron fetters*. When Zovárd, Kadocsa and Huba came safe and sound with all their captives to Prince Árpád, *great rejoicing was made* in the court of the duke. Prince Árpád, upon the counsel and bidding of his noblemen, having taken an oath from the faithless men, gave lands in diverse places to the aforesaid faithless men who had been taken from the districts of Nitra, lest at any time they should become yet more faithless and, returning to their homes, do harm to those faithful to him who were living on the confines of Nitra. And at the same glad event, Prince Árpád made Huba *ispán* of Nitra and of other castles, and he gave him land to own along the Žitava River as far as the Turčok wood.

38 THE ARMY OF THE GREEKS AND BULGARIANS

In the mean time, Prince Salan, when he perceived the might and deeds of the Hungarians, feared that they, moved by wrath, might at any time drive him out of his realm. Then, having taken counsel with his men, he sent his envoys to the emperor of the Greeks and the prince of the Bulgarians to give him help in fighting Árpád, prince of the Hungarians. The emperor of the Greeks and the prince of the Bulgarians sent a great army to Prince Salan. When they reached Prince Salan, at that place which is called Titel, *great rejoicing was had* in the court of the prince. The next day, Prince Salan and his nobles, having taken counsel, sent envoys to Prince Árpád, saying that he should leave their land and start homewards to his native soil. When they reached Prince Árpád and relayed to him the message of Prince Salan, Prince Árpád and his noble-

Benkő, "A korai magyar gyepűvédelem terminológiájához (Anonymus Boroná-i)" [To the terminology of old Hungarian border fortifications (the Borona of Anonymus)], in *idem, Név és történelem. Tanulmányok az Árpád-korról* (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1998), pp. 76–83.

nobiles egre ferentes sic per eosdem legatos duci Salano remandarunt: Terram, que inter Danubium et Thysciam iacet, et aquam Danubii, que a Ratispona¹ in Greciam descendit, pecunia nostra comparavimus tunc tempore, quando novi fuimus et pro precio ei misimus XII albos equos et cetera, ut supra.² Ipse etiam laudans bonitatem terre sue misit unam sarcinam de herbis sabulorum Olpar et duas lagungulas^a de aquis Danubii, unde precipimus domino vestro duci Salano, ut dimissa nostra terra celerrimo cursu terram Bulgarorum eat, unde preavus suus descenderat mortuo Athila rege atthavo nostro. Si autem hoc non fecerit, sciat nos in proximo tempore contra eum dimicatuuros. Legati vero^b hoc audientes accepta licentia tristi vultu ad ducem Salanum properaverunt. Dux autem Arpad et sui nobiles egressi de fluvio Zogea cum omni exercitu castra metati sunt iuxta montem Teteuetlen usque ad Thysciam, deinde venientes per crepidinem Thyscie usque ad sabulum Olpar pervenerunt.

XXXIX. DE EGRESSU SALANI DUCIS CONTRA ARPADIUM^c DUCEM.

Dux autem Salanus cum adiutorio Grecorum et Bulgarorum egressus de Tetel furcata mente per ammonicionem suorum contra ducem Arpad equitare cepit. Et dum uterque exercitus ad invicem prope pernoctassent, neuter eorum dormire per totam noctem ausus fuit, sed equos sellatos in manibus tenendo pernoctaverunt. Mane autem facto ante auroram utraque pars se ad bellum preparavit. Dux vero Arpad cuius adiutor erat deus omnium, armis inditus ordinata acie fuis lacrimis deum orans *suos confortans milites*

^a latunculas *Ms corr.*

^b Legati vero *MS corr.*

^c Arpium *Ms*

¹ Regensburg would have been known to the author as the first major port on the Danube west of Hungary. Vienna and Linz were not significant places at his time.

men angrily replied to Prince Salan through his envoys: “The land which lies between the Danube and Tisza, and the water of the Danube that flows from Regensburg¹ to Greece, we bought with our money when we were new here and we sent as the price for it twelve white horses etcetera, as above.² He, praising the goodness of his land, sent one bag of herbs of the sands of Alpár and two bottles of the waters of the Danube, on account of which we order your lord, Prince Salan, to leave our land and go by the swiftest course to the land of the Bulgarians, whence his forbear came after the death of our ancestor, King Attila. Should he do otherwise, let him know that we will fight him at the earliest opportunity.” The envoys, hearing this, having been granted leave, hurried downcast to Prince Salan. Prince Árpád and his noblemen marched with the whole army from the Zagyya River and encamped beside the hill Tetétlen up to the Tisza, and then coming along the banks of the Tisza they reached the sand of Alpár.

39 PRINCE SALAN MARCHES AGAINST PRINCE ÁRPÁD

Prince Salan marched from Titel supported by the Greeks and Bulgarians and, on the advice of his men, began with a raging mind to ride against Prince Árpád. Although both armies spent the night next to one another, neither dared rest that whole night but they spent the night holding their saddled horses with their hands. *When morning was come*, before dawn, both sides prepared for battle. Prince Árpád, whose helper was the Lord of All, dressed for war and with his battle-line ordered, besought God tearfully,

² The symbolic acquisition of land through presents of soil and water features in many histories, starting from Herodotus (4. 126; 5. 17). The Hungarian Chronicle (ch. 28, SRH 1, pp. 288–90) contains a long story about the Hungarians “purchasing” land from the Moravian Prince Svatopluk, giving him a white horse in return for grass and water. A similar symbolic purchase of land is reported in Widukind’s *Sachsengeschichte* I: 5, ed. Paul Hirsch et al., MGH SSrG 60 (Hanover: Hahn, 1935), p. 6. The story may have reached the author from these or a surviving legendary tradition of the Hungarians.

*dicens:*¹ O Scithici^a, qui per superbiam Bulgarorum [SRH, 82] a castro Hungu vocati estis Hungarii, nolite oblivisci propter timorem Grecorum gladios vestros et amittatis vestrum bonum nomen. *Unde strennue et fortiter pugnemus contra* Grecos et Bulgaros, *qui assimilantur nostris feminis, et sic timeamus multitudinem Grecorum, sicut multitudinem* feminarum. *Hoc audito milites sui multum sunt confortati, statimque* Lelu filius Tosu tuba² cecinit et Bulsuu³ filius Bogat^b elevato vexillo in prima acie contra Grecos pugnaturi venire ceperunt. *Et commixta est utraque acies hostium ad bellum et ceperunt pugnare acriter inter se et, dum totus exercitus ducis Arpad accessisset pugnaturus contra Grecos, plurimi interficiebantur* de Grecis et Bulgaris. *Predictus vero dux* Salanus, *cum vidisset*^c *suos deficere in bello, fuga lapsus est et pro salute vite* Albam [SRH, 83] *Bulgarie*⁴ *properavit.* Greci vero et Bulgari timore Hungarorum percussi viam, quam venerant, oblivioni tradiderunt, fuga lapsi pro salute vite Thysciam pro parvo fluvio reputantes transnatare volebant, sed quia talis timor et terror irruerat super eos, ut propter timorem Hungarorum fere omnes in fluvio Thyscie mortui sunt ita, quod aliqui vix remanserunt, qui imperatori eorum mala salutis nuntiarent. Unde locus ille, ubi Greci mortui fuerunt, a die illo usque nunc portus Grecorum⁵ nuncupatur.

^a Sithici *Ms*

^b Bogar *Ms*

^c cividisset *Ms*

¹ For the speech, see *Historia Alexandri* as above, ch. 8, p. 22–3.

² This name may come from a village near Komárom, but it has also been suggested that Lél's blowing the trumpet has something to do with the Hungarian word for breath or breathing (*lehel*). A captain with this name is also recorded in the mid-tenth century (see below, p. 119).

and *said to comfort his warriors*¹: “O Scythians, who by the arrogance of the Bulgarians are called Hungarians after the castle of Ung, do not forget your swords for fear of the Greeks and lose your good name. *Let us then fight strongly and valiantly against the Greeks and Bulgarians who are as our women and let us thus fear the host of the Greeks as a host of women.*” *Having heard this, his warriors were much comforted*, and at once Lél, son of Tas, sounded a trumpet² and Bulcsú, son of Bogát,³ with standard raised, began at the front of the army to fight with the Greeks. *The armies of the two foes joined in battle and they began to fight each other fiercely and*, when the whole army of Prince Árpád entered the fighting against the Greeks, very *many* Greeks and Bulgarians *were slain*. *The aforesaid Prince Salan, when he saw his men failing in battle*, took to flight and hastened for the safety of his life to Belgrade.⁴ The Greeks and Bulgarians, struck by fear of the Hungarians, forgot which way they had come and, turning to flight, sought to save their lives by swimming across the Tisza, thinking it a little river, but such fear and fright overcame them that for fear of the Hungarians nearly all were killed in the Tisza River, so that barely any remained to report the bad news to the emperor. Hence that place where the Greeks were killed is from that day until now called the Ford of the Greeks.⁵

³ Bulcsú is one of the few persons also mentioned in other sources. In the DAI ch. 40 (pp. 178–9) he is called “the karchas Boultzous” son of Kalis, and *karchas* is explained as the title of a dignity. He was baptized by the emperor in 948 in Byzantium and was executed after the defeat at Lechfeld, see below, p. 119.

⁴ The historic Hungarian name for Belgrade, Nándorfehérvár, retains the association with the Bulgarians, called *nándor* in old Hungarian.

⁵ The region of this ford was in fact the property of the Orthodox monastery of St Demetrius (Srpska Mitrovica) in the twelfth century, and several estates of the monastery were referred to as ‘Greek.’

XL. DE VICTORIA ARPAD^a DUCIS.

Dux vero Arpad et sui milites adepta victoria hinc egressi venerunt usque ad stagnum, quod dicitur Curtueltou, et manserunt ibi iuxta silvam Gemelsen XXXIII^{or} diebus et in illo loco dux et sui nobiles ordinaverunt omnes consuetudinarias leges regni et omnia iura eius,¹ qualiter servirent duci et primatibus suis vel qualiter iudicium facerent pro quolibet crimine commisso. Ibi etiam dux condonavit suis nobilibus secum venientibus diversa loca cum omnibus habitatoribus suis et locum illum, ubi hec omnia fuerunt ordinata, Hungarii secundum suum idioma nominaverunt Scerii eo, quod ibi ordinatum fuit totum negotium regni.² Et dux locum illum dedit Oundunec patri Ete a Thyscia usque ad [SRH, 84] stagnum Botva et a Curtueltou usque ad sabulum Olpar. Postea vero transactis quibusdam temporibus Ethe filius Oundu congregata multitudine Sclavorum fecit inter castrum Olpar et portum Beuldu edificari^b castrum fortissimum de terra, quod nominaverunt Sclavi secundum ydioma suum Surungrad, id est nigrum castrum.³

XLI. DE EGRESSU ARPAD.

Postea vero dux Arpad et sui nobiles hinc egressi venerunt usque ad Titulum subiugando sibi populum. Deinde egressi venerunt usque ad portum Zoloncaman et totum populum infra Thysciam et [SRH, 85] Danubium habitantem sub iugum suum constituerunt. Hinc vero venientes ad partes Budrug pervenerunt et iuxta fluvium Voyos castra metati sunt et in partibus illis dux dedit ter-

^a Apad *Ms corr*

^b edificari *Ms*

¹ The translation of *ius* (in contrast to *lex*, 'law') is a problem that is not only linguistic. Translators of Roman legal texts often retain *ius*, as it implies law, justice, rights along with all their connotations. Modern English does not distinguish *lex* from *ius*, *Gesetz* from *Recht*, or *loi* from *droit*, which may explain the generally supine Anglo-

40 THE VICTORY OF PRINCE ÁRPÁD

With victory won, Prince Árpád and his warriors marched from there to the pool that is called Körtvélytó, and they stayed there beside the wood of Gyümölcvény for thirty-four days and in that place the prince and his noblemen ordered all the customary laws of the realm and all its rights,¹ how they should serve the prince and his leading men, and how they should judge any crime committed. There the prince gave to his noblemen who had come with him diverse villages with all their inhabitants, and the place where all these matters were ordered the Hungarians called according to their language Szer, because here was ordered the whole business of the realm.² The prince gave that place to Ónd, father of Ete, from the Tisza to the pool of Botva and from Körtvélytó to the sand of Alpár. Some time later, Ete, son of Ónd, having gathered a host of Slavs, had built between the castle of Alpár and the Bőd ford a very strong earthwork that the Slavs in their language called Csongrád, which means 'black castle.'³

41 ÁRPÁD'S MARCH

Afterwards, Prince Árpád and his noblemen, marching from there, reached Titel, subjugating the people. Then, marching on, they reached the ford of Slankamen and they put the whole people living between the Tisza and the Danube under their yoke. Marching from there they reached the region of Bodrog and they encamped beside the Vajas River, and in those regions the prince gave a great

Saxon attitude towards the law and authority in general. On the special meaning of *ius* in medieval Hungaro-Latin, see above, n. 3, p. 53.

² Traditionally identified with Szer/Pusztaszer in Co. Csongrád. 'Szer,' primarily meaning 'place, area,' also retains the meaning of 'acquire' or 'obtain,' as in the construction *szert tesz valamire* or to 'arrange something,' or to 'get something done, as in 'szerét ejti'. The notary may have associated the place name with one these words.

³ The notary's etymology is correct.

ram magnam cum omnibus habitatoribus suis Tosunec patri Lelu cum avunculo suo Culpun patre Botond. Tunc dux Arpad et sui [SRH, 86] primates inito consilio constituerunt, quod exercitum mitterent propter Salanum ducem ultra Danubium contra Albam Bulgarie, super quem exercitum constituti sunt *principes et ductores*: Lelu filius Tosu, Bulsuu filius Bogat, Botond filius Culpun, qui accepta licentia a duce Arpad equitantes transnavigaverunt Danubium nullo contradicente in illo loco, ubi fluvius Zova descendit in Danubium, et inde egressi contra Albam Bulgarie civitatem equitare ceperunt. Tunc dux Bulgarorum consanguineus Salani ducis cum magno exercitu contra eos pugnaturus cum adiutorio Grecorum accessit. Altera autem die ordinate sunt utreque acies in campo iuxta ripam Danubii. Statim Lelu filius Tosu elevato vexillo sui signi¹ et Bulsuu filius Bogat *tubas bellicas sonando* pugnaturi accesserunt. *Et commixte sunt per partes manus utriusque hostis et ceperunt pugnare inter se acriter² et interfecti sunt* de Grecis et Bulgariis plurimi et quidam capti sunt ex eis. *Videns* ergo dux Bulgarie *suos deficere in bello, fuga* lapsus pro defensione vite Albam civitatem ingressus est. Tunc Lelu, Bulsuu nec non Botond adepta victoria castra metati sunt iuxta Danubium parum inferius in campo et omnes captivos Bulgarorum et Grecorum ante se duci fecerunt, quos *ferro ligatos* duci Arpad in Hungariam remisit^a.

XLII. DE NUNTIIS DUCIS BULGARIE.

Secundo autem die dux Bulgarie misit nuntios suos cum diversis donis ad Lelu et Bulsuu atque Botond^b et deprecans eos, ut paci faveant, et insuper mandavit, quod partem Salani ducis avunculi sui non foveret, sed Arpadio duci Hungarie subiugatus fideliter serviret et annuale vectigal persolveret. Illi vero paci faventes proprium

^a remiserunt in Hungariam *Ms corr.*

^b Bontond *Ms*

¹ While not documented until later, flags—perhaps with some proto-heraldic signs—may have been known in Hungary around 1200 AD. See also below, ch. 45, p. 99.

land with all its inhabitants to Tas, father of Lél, together with his uncle, Kölpény, father of Botond. Then Prince Árpád and his leading men, having taken counsel, decided that they should send over the Danube to Belgrade an army after Prince Salan. As the army's *chief men and commanders* were appointed Lél, son of Tas, Bulcsú, son of Bogát, and Botond, son of Kölpény. They, having obtained leave from Prince Árpád, rode off and crossed unopposed the Danube at that place where the Sava River flows into the Danube, and, marching from there, they began to ride against the city of Belgrade. Then the prince of the Bulgarians, a blood relation of Prince Salan, went with a great army to fight against them with the Greeks in support. The next day, both armies were arranged on the plain beside the bank of the Danube. Lél, having raised a standard with his device,¹ and Bulcsú, son of Bogát, *sounding the trumpets of war*, began immediately to fight. The forces of *the two foes engaged one another and they began to fight fiercely*,² and very many Greeks and Bulgarians *were slain* and some of them captured. *Seeing his men thus failing in battle*, the prince of Bulgaria, *fleeing* for his life entered the city of Belgrade. Then, with victory won, Lél, Bulcsú and Botond encamped a little lower on the field beside the Danube, and all the captured Bulgarians and Greeks were led before them, whom they sent *bound in iron* to Prince Árpád in Hungary.

42 THE ENVOYS OF THE PRINCE OF BULGARIA

The next day, the prince of Bulgaria sent his envoys with diverse gifts to Lél, Bulcsú and Botond, and begging them to incline to peace, announced that he would no longer adhere to the side of his uncle, Prince Salan, but having been defeated would faithfully serve Árpád, prince of Hungary, and pay a yearly tribute. They, inclining to peace and taking in pledge the prince's own son, departed with many treasures of Bulgaria and left the prince go un-

² Here and below *Historia Alexandri* 1, pp. 50, 168, 176 etc.

filium ducis in pignus accipientes cum multis bonis rebus Bulgarie discesserunt et ducem eorum illesum^a dimiserunt. Deinde egressi usque ad portam Wazil¹ iverunt et [SRH, 87] exhinc egressi terram Racy² subiugaverunt et ducem eius captum diu ferro ligatum tenuerunt. Hinc vero egressi usque ad mare pervenerunt et omnes nationes illius patrie dominatui Arpad ducis Hungarorum *potenter et pacifice*³ subiugaverunt et civitatem Spaletensem ceperunt et totam Crouatiam sibi subiugaverunt et inde egressi filios nobilium in obsides acceperunt et in Hungariam reversi sunt ad ducem Arpad. Quorum etiam bella et fortia queque facta sua, si scriptis presentis pagine⁴ non vultis, credite garrulis cantibus ioculatorum et falsis fabulis rusticorum, qui fortia facta et bella Hungarorum usque in hodiernum diem oblivioni non tradunt. Sed quidam dicunt eos ivisse^b usque ad Constantinopolim^c et portam auream Constantinopolis Botondium cum dolabro suo incidisse.⁵ Sed ego, quia in nullo codice hystoriographorum inveni, nisi ex falsis fabulis rusticorum audiui, ideo ad presens opus scribere^d non proposui.

XLIII. DE CASTRIS ZABRAG, POSAGA ET VLCOU.

Bulsuu, Lelu et Botond hinc egressi silvam, que dicitur Peturgoz,⁶ descendentes iuxta fluvium Culpe castra metati [SRH, 88] sunt et transito fluvio illo usque ad fluvium Zova pervenerunt et transito

^a in lesum *Ms corr.*

^b ivisse *Ms*

^c Constantipolim *Ms corr.*

^d scip(ere) *Ms corr.*

¹ The 'porta Vazil' is most probably the Claustra Sancti Basilii, more commonly known as the Soukeis Pass or Trajan's Gate, which lies between modern-day Sofia and Plovdiv; see *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, chief ed. Alexander P. Kazhdan, 3 vols. (New York and Oxford: OUP, 1991), vol. 3, p. 2103.

² That is Rascia, Raška, which is now Serbia.

³ The phrase *potenter et pacifice*—used here and in slightly different contexts further down (ch. 44, 50 and 57, pp. 94, 108, 126)—is unusual and otherwise unknown in Hungarian charters and chronicles. We happen to find it also in Albert of Aix's ac-

harmed. Then, having marched on, they went to the Gate of Basil,¹ and marching from there they subjugated the land of Serbia,² and having captured its prince held him for a long time bound in iron. Marching on from there, they arrived at the sea and they subjugated *effectively and peacefully*³ all the nations of that land to the rule of Árpád, prince of the Hungarians, and they took the city of Split and conquered all Croatia. Marching on from there, they took the sons of the noblemen as hostages and returned to Hungary to Prince Árpád. If you do not wish to read these presents⁴ on their wars and brave deeds, then you may believe the gabbling rhymes of minstrels and the spurious tales of peasants who have not forgotten the brave deeds and wars of the Hungarians even to this day. Some indeed say that they reached Constantinople and that Botond cut the Golden Gate of Constantinople with his axe.⁵ But as I have found this in no book written by historians, and have heard it only in the spurious tales of peasants, I do not, therefore, propose to write it in the present work.

43 THE CASTLES OF ZAGREB, POŽEGA AND VUKOVAR

Bulcsú, Lél and Botond, marching on from here, descended through the wood that is called Peturgoz⁶ and encamped beside the Kupa River. Having crossed that river, they arrived at the Sava River and,

count of the First Crusade, composed ca. 1100—Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, ed. and trans. S. Edgington (Oxford: Oxford Medieval Texts, 2007), 9, 13—as well as in several Spanish charters.

⁴ Typical chancery formula for a charter.

⁵ *Gesta principum Polonorum*/The Deeds. This is contained in the Hungarian Chronicle, ch. 62 (SRH 1, pp. 310–1) and resembles strongly the legend of the Polish duke, Bolesław I Chrobry, striking the Golden Gate of Kiev, see *Gesta principum Polonorum/Deeds of the Princes of the Poles*, trans. Paul W. Knoll and Frank Schaer, CEMT 3 (Budapest: CEU Press, 2003), p. 43.

⁶ The mountain may refer to the Gvozd or Mt. Kapela, or to the Petrova Gora near Vukovar; for different theories see Simon of Kéza, pp. 140–1, n. 1.

Zova castrum Zabrag ceperunt et hinc equitantes castrum Posaga et castrum Vlcou ceperunt et hinc egressi Danubium in portu Greci transnavigantes in curiam ducis Arpad pervenerunt. Cumque Lelu, Bulsu et Botond ceterique milites sani et incolumes cum magna victoria in secundo anno ad ducem Arpad reversi fuissent, *factum est gaudium magnum* per totam curiam ducis et fecerunt convivium magnum et *epulabantur cottidie splendide*¹ Hungarii una cum diversis nationibus. Et vicine nationes audientes facinora facta eorum, confluebant ad ducem Arpad et pura fide subditi serviebant ei sub magna cura et plurimi hospites facti sunt domestici.²

XLIV. DE INSULA DANUBII.

Post hec vero egressus dux Arpad de partibus illis, ubi nunc est castrum Budrug, et descendit iuxta Danubium usque ad Insulam Magnam.³ Et castra metati sunt iuxta insulam et dux Arpad sui- que nobiles intrantes insulam visa fertilitate et ubertate illius loci ac munitione^a aquarum Danubii *dilexerunt locum ultra, quam dici potest*, et constituerunt, ut ducalis esset insula et unusquisque nobilium personarum suam ibi haberet curiam et villam. Statim dux Arpad conductis artificibus precepit [SRH, 89] facere egregias domos ducales et omnes equos suos longitudine dierum fatigatos ibi introductos pascere precepit et agasonibus suis magistrum prefecit quendam Cumanum, virum prudentissimum nomine Sepel et propter Sepel magistrum agasonum inibi morantem *vocata est insula illa nomine Sepel usque in hodiernum diem*. Dux vero Arpad et sui nobiles permanserunt^b ibi cum famulis et famulabus

^a municionem *Ms*

^b permaseunt *Ms*

¹ Luke 16.19.

² The sentence reflects the notary's familiarity with the great number of guests (*hospites*) who had come to the kingdom ever since St Stephen's times; see Erik Fügedi,

having crossed the Sava, they took the castle of Zagreb and, riding from there, they took Požega and Vukovar. Marching out from there, crossing the Danube at the ford of Geréc, they arrived at the court of Prince Árpád. When Lél, Bulcsú, and Botond and the other warriors had returned after a year to Prince Árpád safe and sound with a great victory, *great joy was made* throughout the prince's whole court and they had a great feast and the Hungarians *feasted sumptuously every day*¹ together with various nations. And the neighboring nations, hearing of their deeds, flocked to Prince Árpád and, as truly faithful subjects, they served him with great diligence and very many guests came to make their home there.²

44 THE ISLAND OF THE DANUBE

After this, Prince Árpád marched from those parts where now the castle of Bodrog is, and he descended along the Danube to the Great Island.³ They encamped beside the island, and Prince Árpád and his noblemen entering the island, having seen the fertility and richness of the place and the protection given by the waters of the Danube, *loved that place more than can be said*, and they decided that the island should belong to the prince and each of the noble persons should have there a court and village. Forthwith, Prince Árpád ordered the assembled craftsmen to make fine princely homes and he ordered all his horses, exhausted by long days, brought there to graze and he appointed as master of his horse a certain Cuman, a most skilled man called Csepel, and, as Csepel, master of the horse, remained there, that island is *called to the present day* by the name of Csepel. Prince Árpád and his noblemen stayed there with their

"Das mittelalterliche Ungarn als Gastland," now in idem, *Kings, Bishops, Nobles, and Burghers in Medieval Hungary* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1986), ch. VIII. It is notable that the other chronicles discuss these foreigners in great detail (Simon of Kéza, chs. 76–94, pp. 158–77; SRH 1, pp. 296–304).

³ According to the notary, Árpád marched northwards, up the Danube. The 'Great Island' in the Danube is Csepel Island, immediately south of Budapest. It was royal domain throughout the Middle Ages.

suis *pacifice et potenter* a mense Aprilis usque ad mensem Octobris et dimissis ibi uxoribus suis communi consilio ab insula exeuntes constituerunt, ut ultra Danubium irent et terram Pannonie¹ subiugarent et contra Carinthinos bellum promoverent ac in marciam Lambardie se venire prepararent et, antequam hoc fieret, mitterent exercitum contra Glad ducem, qui dominium habebat a fluvio Morus usque ad castrum Horom, ex cuius etiam progenie longo post tempore descenderat Ohtum, quem Sunad interfecit.² Ad hoc autem missi sunt Zuardu et Cadusa atque Boyta, qui, cum accepta licentia equitarent, Tysciam in Kenesna transnavigaverunt et descensum [SRH, 90] fecerunt iuxta fluvium Seztureg.³ Et nemo adversarius inventus est eis, qui *levaret manus* contra eos, quia timor eorum irruerat super omnes homines illius terre. Exhinc egressi ad partes Beguey pervenerunt et ibi per duas ebdomadas permanserunt, donec omnes habitatores illius patrie a Morisio usque ad fluvium Temes sibi subiugaverunt et filios eorum in obsides acceperunt. Deinde amoto exercitu venerunt versus fluvium Temes et castra metati sunt iuxta Vadum Arenarum⁴ et, cum vellent transire amnem Temes, venit obviam eis Glad, a cuius progenie Ohtum^a descendit, dux illius patrie cum magna exercitu equitum et peditem adiutorio Cumanorum et Bulgarorum atque Blacorum. Altera autem die, dum utraque acies interiacente fluvio Temes ad invicem nullatenus transire valuisset, tunc Zuardu iniunxit fratri suo Caduse, ut^b cum dimidia parte exercitus sui descenderet inferius et, quolibet^c modo posset transmeare, pugnaret contra hostes. Statim Cadusa preceptis fratris sui obediens cum medietate exercitus equitans descendit inferius celerrimo^d cursu et, sicut divina gratia erat eis previa, levem habuit transitum. Et dum una pars exercitus Hungarorum cum Cadusa ultra esset et dimidia pars cum Zuard citra esset, tunc Hungarii *tubas bellicas sonuerunt* et fluvium tran-

^a Othum *Ms*

^b ut ut *Ms*

^c quodlibet *Ms*

^d celerimo *Ms corr.*

servants and maidservants *effectively and peacefully* from the month of April to the month of October . Then, leaving their wives there, they decided by common counsel, to quit the island in order to go beyond the Danube and subjugate the land of Pannonia,¹ make war against the Carinthians, and prepare to go to the march of Lombardy. However, before doing that, they decided to send an army against Prince Glad, who held power from the Mureş River to the castle of Palanka, of whose line a long time later was descended Ajtony, whom Csanád killed.² To this end, Zovárd, Kadocsa and Vajta were sent who, having obtained leave, rode out and crossed the Tisza at Kanjiža and halted along the Csesztreg River.³ And no enemy appeared before them who dared *raise his hand* against them, because fear of them had taken hold of all the men of that land. Marching on from there, they reached the region of Bega and stayed there for two weeks while they conquered all the inhabitants of that land from the Mureş to the Timiş River and they received their sons as hostages. Then, moving the army on, they came to the Timiş River and encamped beside the ford of Foeni⁴ and when they sought to cross the Timiş's flow, there came to oppose them Glad, of whose line Ajtony descended, the prince of that country, with a great army of horsemen and foot soldiers, supported by Cumans, Bulgarians and Vlachs. The next day, because, with the Timiş River lying between them, neither army had been at all able to cross over to the other, Zovárd enjoined his brother, Kadocsa, to go lower down with half his army and try to cross in any way in order to attack the enemy. Forthwith Kadocsa, obeying his brother's commands, riding with half the army, went very swiftly lower down and, as God's grace was before them, he had an easy crossing. When one part of the army of the Hungarians was with Kadocsa on the far side and the other half with Zovárd on this side, the Hungarians

¹ Here Pannonia in the strict sense, west of the Danube, is meant (cf. n. 10, p. 7).

² See above, p. 33.

³ Or perhaps the Zlatica River.

⁴ Anonymus translates into Latin the Hungarian word for sand (*fővény*), whence the former place name, Fővény.

snatando *acriter pugnare ceperunt*. Et quia deus sua gratia antecede-
 bat Hungaros, dedit eis [SRH, 91] victoriam magnam et ini-
 mici eorum *cadebant ante eos, sicut manipuli post messorum*.¹ Et in
 eodem bello mortui sunt duo duces Cumanorum et tres kenezy²
 Bulgarorum et ipse Glad dux eorum fuga lapsus evasit, sed omnis
 exercitus eius liquefacti, tamquam *cera a facie ignis*,³ *in ore gladii*
 consumpti sunt. Tunc Zuard et Cadusa atque Boyta adepta victoria
 hinc egressi venerunt versus fines Bulgarorum et castra metati sunt
 iuxta fluvium Ponoucea. Dux vero Glad fuga lapsus, ut supra di-
 ximus, propter timorem Hungarorum castrum Kevee ingressus est
 et tercio die Zuardu et Cadusa nec non Boyta, a quo genus Brucsa
 descendit, ordinato exercitu contra castrum Kevee pugnare cepe-
 runt. Hoc cum Glad dux eorum vidisset, missis legatis pacem ab
 eis petere cepit et castrum sua sponte cum diversis donis condo-
 navit. Hinc euntes castrum Ursova ceperunt et per mensem unum
 ibi habitaverunt et Boytam cum tertia parte exercitus ac filiis in-
 colarum in obsides positos ad ducem Arpad remiserunt et insuper
 legatos suos miserunt, ut eis licentiam daret in Greciam eundi, ut
 totam Macedoniam sibi subiugarent a Danubio usque ad Nigrum
 Mare. Nam mens Hungarorum tunc tempore *nichil aliud optabat*,
 nisi occupare sibi terras et *subiugare* nationes et bellico uti labore.
 Quia Hungarii tunc tempore ita gaudebant de effusione humani
 sanguinis sicut *sanguissuga*⁴ et, nisi ita fecissent, tot bonas terras
 posteris suis non dimisissent. Quid plura? Boyta et legati eorum ad
 ducem Arpad pervenerunt et res gestas sibi narraverunt. Dux vero
 opus eorum conlaudavit et Zuardu ac Caduse licentiam concessit
 liberam in Greciam eundi et terram preoccupandi sibi⁵ et [SRH,
 92] Boyte pro suo^a fidelissimo servicio dedit terram^b magnam iuxta
 Thysciam nomine Torhus. Tunc legati Zuard et fratris sui Caduse
 accepta licentia leti ad dominos suos reversi sunt.

^a su *Ms corr.*

^b teram *Ms*

¹ *Historia Alexandri*, 1, p. 194.

² The term *knes* (derived from Slavic *kniaz*, 'prince') had several meanings. In Hunga-
 ry (as *kenéz*), it came to be the title of heads of Vlach/Romanian communities, many

sounded their trumpets of war and, crossing the river, *began to fight fiercely*. And because God with His grace went before the Hungarians, He gave them a great victory and their *enemies fell before them as bundles of hay before reapers*.¹ In that battle two dukes of the Cumans and three *kneses*² of the Bulgarians were slain, and Glad, their duke, escaped in flight but all his army, melting like *wax before flame*,³ was destroyed *at the point of the sword*. Then Zovárd, Kadocsa and Vajta, having won victory, marching from there, came to the borders of the Bulgarians and encamped beside the Ponjavica River. Prince Glad, having fled, as we said above, for fear of the Hungarians, entered the castle of Kovin and, on the third day, Zovárd, Kadocsa and Vajta (from whom the Baracska kindred descends), having arranged their army, began to fight against the castle of Kovin. When Glad, their duke, saw this, he sent to seek peace with them and of his own will delivered up the castle with diverse gifts. Going from there, they took the castle of Orşova and lived there for a whole month. They sent Vajta with a third of the army and the sons of the inhabitants given as hostages back to Prince Árpád and sent, moreover, their envoys to him so that he might give them leave to go to Greece so that they might conquer the whole of Macedonia from the Danube to the Black Sea. For the mind of the Hungarians at that time *desired nothing else but* to seize lands, conquer nations and practice the work of war. For at that time the Hungarians rejoiced like the *horseleech*⁴ at the shedding of human blood and, had they not done so, they would not have left so many good lands to their descendants. What more? Vajta and their envoys reached Prince Árpád and they related to him their deeds. The prince praised their work and granted Zovárd and Kadocsa leave to go to Greece and occupy land for him,⁵ and he gave Vajta for his most faithful service a great land beside the Tisza by the name of Taraš. Then the envoys of Zovárd and his brother, Kadocsa, having received leave, returned joyfully to their lords.

of whom later merged into the nobility. Here, apparently, persons of higher standing are meant, the equivalent of Cuman dukes. See also below, p. 171 and 209.

³ Cf. Ps. 67.3 and elsewhere.

⁴ Prov. 30.15.

⁵ The pronoun *sibi* in fact allows for the translation 'for him' or 'for themselves.'

XLV. DE CIVIBUS BULGARORUM ET MACEDONUM.

Transactis quibusdam diebus Zuard et Cadusa cum omni exercitu suo elevatis vexillis signiferis aquam Danubii transnavigaverunt et castrum Borons ceperunt, deinde ad castrum Scereducy iverunt. Audientes hoc cives Bulgarorum et Macedonum, timuerunt valde a facie eorum. Tunc omnes incole illius terre miserunt nuntios suos cum donariis multis, ut terram sibi subiugarent et filios suos in obsides traderent. Zuard et Cadusa paci faventes et dona et obsides eorum accipientes eos quasi suum proprium populum in pace dimiserunt, ipsi vero ceperunt equitare ultra portam Wacil et castrum Philippi regis ceperunt, deinde totam terram usque ad Neopatram^{a, 1} civitatem sibi subiugaverunt et sub potestate sua habuerunt totam terram a civitate Durasu usque ad terram Rachy. Et Zuardu in eadem terra duxit [SRH, 93] sibi uxorem et populus ille, qui nunc dicitur Sobamogera, mortuo duce Zuard in Grecia remansit et ideo dictus est soba secundum Grecos, id est stultus populus, quia mortuo domino suo viam non dilexit redire ad patriam suam.²

XLVI. DE PORTU MOGER.

Transactis quibusdam diebus dux Arpad et omnes sui primates communi consilio et pari consensu ac libera voluntate egredientes [SRH, 94] de insula castra metati sunt ultra Surcusar usque ad fluvium Racus. Et dum vidissent, quod undique tuti essent, nec aliquis eis obsistere valeret, transierunt Danubium et portum, ubi transitum fecerunt, portum Moger nominaverunt eo quod VII principales persone, qui Hetumoger dicti sunt, ibi Danubium transnavigaverunt. Transito Danubio castra metati sunt iuxta Da-

^a Cleopatram *Ms*

¹ The castle of King Philip is probably Philippopolis, modern-day Plovdiv. On the *MS* reading Cleopatras see above p. XVIII; it clearly stands for Neopatras, modern-day Ypati.

45 THE PEOPLE OF THE BULGARIANS AND MACEDONIANS

After a few days had passed, Zovárd and Kadocsa with their whole army, emblazoned standards aloft, crossed the water of the Danube and captured the castle of Braničevo, after which they went to the castle of Serdica. Hearing this, the people of the Bulgarians and Macedonians feared greatly facing them. Then all the inhabitants of that land sent their envoys with many gifts to surrender the land to them and hand over their sons as hostages. Zovárd and Kadocsa, favoring peace and taking their gifts and hostages, let them go in peace, as if they were their own people, and riding beyond the Gate of Basil, they took the castle of King Philip; then they conquered the whole land up to the city of Neopatras,¹ and they had in their power the whole land from the city of Durrës to the land of Serbia. And Zovárd took to himself a wife in that land and the people, who are now called “Sobamogera,” remained after Duke Zovárd’s death in Greece and they were thus called *soba* by the Greeks, that is stupid people, because with their lord dead they did not take the way home.²

46 THE FORD OF MEGYER

After a few days had passed, Prince Árpád and all his leading men, marching from the island by common counsel, with equal consent and free will, encamped beyond Soroksár as far as the Rákos River. When they saw that they were safe from everywhere and that no one was opposing them, they crossed the Danube; and the ford where they made the crossing they called the Megyer ford because the seven leading persons, who are called the Hetumoger, crossed the Danube there. Having crossed the Danube, they encamped

² This may be a seriously altered rendering of the Csaba legend (son of Attila), given in Simon of Kéza, ch. 20–22 (pp. 69–73). The account in DAI, ch. 38 (pp. 170–3), which records the separation of a body of Hungarians called the *Sabartoi asphaloi*, may refer to some similar tradition.

nubium usque ad Aquas Calidas Superiores. Et hoc audito omnes Romani per terram Pannonie habitantes vitam fuga servaverunt. Secundo autem die dux Arpad et omnes sui primates cum omnibus militibus Hungarie intraverunt in civitatem Atthile regis et viderunt omnia palacia regalia quedam destructa usque ad fundamentum, quedam non, et ammirabantur ultra modum omnia illa edificia lapidea¹ et *facti sunt leti ultra, quam dici potest*, eo, quod capere meruerunt sine bello civitatem^a Atthile regis, ex cuius progenie dux Arpad descenderat, et epulabantur cottidie cum gaudio magno in palatio Atthile regis collateraliter sedendo et omnes simphonias atque dulces sonos cythararum et fistularum cum omnibus cantibus ioculatorum habebant ante se. Fercula, pocula portabantur duci et nobilibus in vasis aureis, servientibus et rusticis in vasis argenteis, quia omnia bona aliorum regnorum circumiacentium dederat deus in manus eorum, et vivebant large ac splendide cum omnibus hospitibus ad se venientibus. Et hospitibus secum comorantibus dux Arpad terras et possessiones magnas dabat et hoc audito multi hospitem confluebant ad eum et ovanter morabantur cum eo. Tunc dux Arpad et sui propter leticiam permanserunt in civitate Atthile regis per [SRH, 95] XX^{ti} dies et omnes milites Hungarie ante presentiam ducis^b fere cottidie super dextrarios suos sedendo cum clipeis et lanceis maximum turnamentum faciebant^c et alii iuvenes more paganismo cum arcubus et sagittis² ludebant, unde dux Arpad valde letus factus est et omnibus militibus suis diversa donaria tam in auro quam in argento cum ceteris possessionibus donavit et in eodem loco Cundunec patri Curzan dedit terram a civitate Atthile regis usque ad Centum Montes³ et usque ad Gyoyg et filio suo dedit unum castrum ad custodiam populi sui. Tunc Curzan castrum illud sub suo proprio nomine iussit appella-

^a civitem *Ms corr.*

^b duci *Ms corr.*

^c fecerant *Ms corr.*

¹ See above, ch. 1, p. 7–9.

² See Erik Fügedi, “Turniere im mittelalterlichen Ungarn,” in *Das ritterliche Turnier im Mittelalter. Beiträge zu einer vergleichenden Formen- und Verhaltensgeschichte des*

beside the Danube as far as Budafelhéviz. Hearing this, all the Romans living throughout the land of Pannonia, saved their lives by flight. Next day, Prince Árpád and all his leading men with all the warriors of Hungary entered the city of King Attila and they saw all the royal palaces, some ruined to the foundations, others not, and they admired beyond measure the stone buildings¹ and were *happier than can be* told that they had deserved to take without fighting the city of King Attila, of whose line Prince Árpád descended. They *feasted every day* with great joy in the palace of King Attila, sitting alongside one another, and all the melodies and sweet sounds of zithers and pipes along with all the songs of minstrels were presented to them. Dishes and drinks were borne to the prince and his noblemen in golden vessels, to the serving men and peasants in silver vessels, because all the treasures of the neighboring countries God had given into their hands, and they lived lavishly and magnificently with all the guests that came to them. Prince Árpád gave great lands and properties to the guests staying with them, and, when they heard this, many guests thronged to him and gladly stayed with him. Then, on account of their happiness, Prince Árpád and his men stayed in the city of King Attila for twenty days and in the presence of the prince all the warriors of Hungary daily made a very great tournament mounted on destriers with shields and lances, and the other young men played in pagan manner with bows and arrows,² on account of which Prince Árpád was made most happy and he gave to all his warriors diverse gifts both of gold and silver along with other possessions. In that place he gave to Künd, father of Kurszán, land from the city of King Attila up to Százhalom³ and to Diósd, and to his son he gave a castle to protect his people. Then Kurszán ordered that the castle

Rittertums, ed. Josef Fleckenstein (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985), pp. 390–400. The notary clearly distinguishes between the “knightly” tournament and the “nomadic” display of the traditionally armed men.

³ Present-day Százhalombatta in Co. Pest, where there is a graveyard with some 120 Celtic tumuli. The six-hectare site is now an archaeological park.

ri, quod nomen usque in hodiernum diem non est oblivioni traditum.¹

XLVII. DE TERRA PANNONIE.

Dux vero Arpad XXI^o die inito consilio egressus est de Ecilburgu, ut subiugaret sibi terram Pannonie usque ad fluvium Drova, et prima die castra metatus est iuxta Danubium versus [SRH, 96] Centum Montes. Tunc ordinatum est, quod dux de exercitu suo unam partem mitteret iuxta Danubium versus castrum Borona, cui prefecit *principes et ductores*^a duos de principalibus personis, scilicet Ete pater Eudu et Boyta,² a quo genus Brucsa^b descendit, quibus etiam pro suo fidelissimo obsequio^c dux Arpad donavit munera non minima et Eudunec filio Ete dedit terram iuxta Danubium cum populo non numerato. Et in loco illo Eudu subiugato populo illius partis edificavit castrum, quod nominavit vulgariter Zecuseu eo, quod sibi sedem et stabilitatem³ constituit. Et Boyte eodem modo dedit terram magnam versus Saru cum populo non numerato, que usque modo nuncupatur Boyta.[SRH, 97]

XLVIII. DE CIVITATE BEZPREM.

In secunda parte exercitus missus est Usubu pater Zolocu et Eusee^d, qui iret versus civitatem Bezprem et subiugaret omnes habitatores terre usque ad Castrum Ferreum. Tunc Usubu *princeps et ductor* illius exercitus licentiatus a duce elevato vexillo^e egressus est

^a principem et ductorem *Ms corr.*

^b Brugsa *Ms*

^c obsequio *Ms add.*

^d Cusee *Ms*

^e velillo *Ms corr.*

¹ Reference to a *loci antiqui castri Kurchan vocati* is found in a charter of 1332—*Anjoukori Okmánytár*, ed. Imre Nagy and Gyula Nagy (Budapest: MTA, 1881), vol. 2, p.

be called by his own name, and even today that name has not been forgotten.¹

47 THE LAND OF PANNONIA

On the twenty-first day, Prince Árpád, having taken counsel, marched off from Etzelburg to conquer the land of Pannonia as far as the Drava River, and on the first day he encamped beside the Danube towards Százhalom. Then it was decided that the prince should send one part of his army along the Danube to the castle of Baranya, for which he appointed as the *chief men and commanders* two of the principal persons, namely Etu, father of Őd, and Vajta,² from whom the Baracska kindred is descended, to whom for their most faithful service Prince Árpád gave no small gifts; and to Őd son of Etu, he gave land beside the Danube along with innumerable people. There Őd, having conquered the people of that region, built a castle that he called in the vernacular Szekcső, because he established for himself a seat and station.³ And to Vajta he gave in the same way a great land towards Sár with innumerable people, which is still called Vajta.

48 THE CITY OF VESZPRÉM

Ősbő, father of Szalók and Őse, was sent with the second part of the army in order to move against the city of Veszprém and conquer all the inhabitants of the land up to Vasvár. Then Ősbő, the *chief man and commander* of that army, with leave of the duke, marched with

636. It would appear to have been in the proximity of Óbuda. The question whether Kurszán was a sacred ruler while Árpád was the war leader (*Heerkönig*) is discussed in Gyula Kristó, *Hungarian History in the Ninth Century* (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 1996), pp. 201–3.

² However, these two are not previously named among the tribal leaders, the “principal persons.”

³ Anonymus seeks to explain the place name from *szék* ‘seat’.

et castra metatus est iuxta montem Pacoztu. Hinc vero equitantes in campo Peytu castra metati sunt et per tres dies ibi permanserunt, quarto autem die^a usque ad castrum Bezprem pervenerunt. Tunc Usubu et Eusee ordinato exercitu contra Romanos milites, qui castrum Bezprem custodiebant, *pugnare acriter ceperunt*. Et *pugnatum est* inter eos per ebdomadam unam. In secunda autem ebdomada, feria IIII^{ta} dum utraque pars exercitus labore belli nimis esset fatigata, tunc Usubu et Eusee plures milites Romanorum *in ore gladii* consumpserunt et quosdam ictibus sagittarum interfecerunt. Reliqui vero Romanorum videntes audaciam Hungarorum dimisso castro Bezprem fuga lapsi sunt et pro remedio vite in terram Theotonicorum properaverunt, [SRH, 98] quos Usubuu et Eusee usque ad confinium Theotonicorum persecuti sunt. Quadam autem die, dum Hungarii et Romanii in confinio essent, Romani fugiendo latenter fluvium, qui est in confinio Pannonie et Theotonicorum, transnataverunt, unde fluvius ille ab Hungaris vocatus Loponsu eo, quod Romani propter metum Hungarorum latenter transnataverunt.¹

XLIX. DE CASTRO FERREO.

Et exhine Usubuu pater Zoloucu et Esusee pater Urcun reversi Castrum Ferreum ceperunt et filios incolarum in obsides acceperunt. Hinc vero equitantes iuxta fluvium Bolotun² usque ad Thyon pervenerunt et subiugatis^b sibi gentibus X^o IIIII^o die castrum Bezprem intraverunt. Tunc Usubuu et Eusee inuito consilio nuntios suos cum diversis muneribus et fillis incolarum in obsides positos duci Arpad transmiserunt et qualiter dedit eis [SRH, 99] deus victoriam et quomodo Romani dimisso castro Bezprem ante eos fuga lapsi fluvium Loponsu latenter transnataverunt. Missi vero eorum

^a *Ms om.*

^b subiugatis *Ms*

standard aloft and encamped beside the Pákozd mountain. Riding from there, they encamped on the field of Pét; they stayed there for three days and on the fourth they reached the castle of Veszprém. Then Ősbő and Őse, having arranged their army in battle line against the Roman warriors who guarded the castle of Veszprém, *began to fight fiercely*. And *they fought* with each other for a week. On the fourth day of the second week, when both armies were quite exhausted by the labor of war, Ősbő and Őse slew many warriors of the Romans *at the point of the sword* and killed others with arrow shots. The rest of the Romans, seeing the daring of the Hungarians, having quit the castle, fled Veszprém and, to save their lives, hurried to the land of the Germans, with Ősbő and Őse pursuing them as far as the confines of the Germans. One day, when the Hungarians and Romans were at the border, the Romans secretly swam across the river which is on the border between Pannonia and the Germans, on account of which it is called Lapincs by the Hungarians, because for fear of the Hungarians the Romans secretly swam across.¹

49 VASVÁR

Returning from there, Ősbő, father of Szalók, and Őse, father of Örkény, took Vasvár and received the sons of the inhabitants as hostages. Riding from there along the Balaton River,² they reached Tihany and having conquered the peoples entered the castle of Veszprém on the fourteenth day. Then Ősbő and Őse, having taken counsel, sent to Prince Árpád their messengers with diverse gifts and the sons of the inhabitants that had been placed as hostages, [to tell] what kind of victory God had given them and how the Romans, having left the castle of Veszprém, had fleeing before them secretly swum across the Lapincs River. Their messengers

¹ Anonymus plays here with the Hungarian *lappang* 'to do secretly'.

² Of course, properly Lake Balaton.

ducem Arpad in silva Turobag arpalice¹ ambulanti invenerunt et eum cum diversis muneribus^a ex parte Usubuu et Eusee salutarunt et filios incolarum in obsides positos duci presentaverunt. Dux vero Arpad audito hoc lecius factus est solito et iterum in Ecilburgu^b reversus magnum fecit convivium et legatis gaudia nuntiantibus munera magna condonavit.

L. DE DEVASTATIONE PANNONIE.

Tunc dux Arpad et sui nobiles cum tertia parte exercitus sui de Ecilburgu^c egressi castra metati sunt iuxta campum Putei Salsi et inde equitantes usque ad montem Bodoctu pervenerunt. Dux vero Arpad ab orientali parte dedit Eleudunec patri Zobolsu^d silvam magnam, que nunc Vertus^e vocatur propter clipeos Theotonicorum inibi dimissos.² Ad radicem cuius silve iuxta stagnum Ferteu Sac nepos Zobolsu longo post tempore castrum construxit. Quid ultra? Dux autem Arpad [SRH, 100] et sui milites sic eundo iuxta montem sancti Martini³ castra metati sunt et de fonte Sabarie tam ipsi quam eorum animalia biberunt et montem ascendentes et visa pulchritudine^f terre Pannonie nimis leti facti sunt. Et inde egressi usque ad Rabam et Rabuceam venerunt, Sclavorum et Pannoniorum gentes et regna vastaverunt et eorum regiones occupaverunt. Sed et Carinthinorum Moroanensium⁴ fines crebris incursibus irripuerunt, quorum multa milia hominum *in ore gladii* occiderunt, presidia subverterunt et regiones eorum possiderunt et usque in

^a (*vel forse donis*) *Ms om.*

^b Etiburgu *Ms*

^c Elciburgu *Ms*

^d Zolsu *Ms*

^e Vetus *Ms corr.*

^f pulchritune *Ms*

¹ A word-play is intended between Árpád and the princess of Greek mythology, Harpalyce, a word taken from the *Excidium Troie*, where (27.12) *Arpalice* is glossed as "*hoc est venatrice*." The reference is thus to Árpád as a hunter.

found Prince Árpád walking about like Harpalyce in the Torbágy forest;¹ they greeted him with diverse gifts on behalf of Ősbő and Őse and presented to the prince the sons of the inhabitants placed as hostages. Having heard this, Prince Árpád was happier than usual and returning again to Etzelburg made a great feast and gave great gifts to the messengers who had reported the glad news.

50 THE DESTRUCTION OF PANNONIA

Then Prince Árpád and his noblemen leaving Etzelburg with a third of his army encamped beside the field of Sósút and riding from there they arrived at Bodajk Mountain. On the eastern side, Prince Árpád gave to Előd, father of Szabolcs, a great wood that is now called Vértés on account of the shields of the Germans that were abandoned there.² At the bottom of that wood, beside Lake Fertő, a long time later, Csák, nephew of Szabolcs, built a castle. What more? Thus proceeding, Prince Árpád and his warriors encamped beside St Martin's mountain,³ and they and their beasts drank of the spring of Sabaria. Having ascended the mountain and seen the beauty of the land of Pannonia, they became exceedingly happy. From there they marched to the Rába and Rábca [rivers], and laid waste the peoples and realms of the Slavs and Pannonians and occupied their territories. They also stormed the boundaries of the Carinthians of the Mura⁴ with frequent assaults, of whom they killed many thousands *at the point of the sword*, threw down

² Here the author explains a place-name from the Hungarian 'vért' meaning a shield or armour. The tradition that German soldiers had discarded their arms in that forest when fleeing in 1051 is recorded in the Hungarian Chronicle, see SRH 1, pp. 350–1.

³ The oldest Benedictine monastery of Hungary, Pannonhalma (founded ca. 996), was connected to the legend of St Martin (of Tours), believed to have been born in that region. The spring called Sabaria belongs to the same legendary tradition. See Wiczorek and Hinz, *Europas Mitte*, vol. 2, pp. 617–20, as in n. 2, p. 77 above.

⁴ Apparently a misreading of Regino ad a. 889 (p. 132) about "Carantanians, Moravians and Bulgarians."

hodiernum diem adiuvante domino *potenter et pacifice* posteritas eorum detinet. Tunc Usubuu et Eusee pater Urcun cum omni exercitu eorum sani et incolumes cum magna victoria reversi sunt ad ducem Arpad. Deus enim, cuius misericordia previa erat, *tradidit* duci Arpad et suis militibus *inimicos*¹ eorum et per [SRH, 101] manus suas labores populorum possederunt. Ubi cum *radicati fuissent* et fere omnia viciniora regna sibi subiugassent, reversi sunt iuxta Danubium versus silvam causa venationis et dimissis militibus ad sua propria dux et sui nobiles manserunt in eadem silva per X dies et inde venerunt in civitatem Athhile regis et in insulam Sepel descenderunt, ubi ducissa et alie mulieres nobilium fuerunt.

Et eodem anno dux Arpad genuit filium nomine Zulta² et *factum est gaudium magnum* inter Hungaros et dux et sui nobiles per plurimos dies faciebant convivia magna, iuvenesque eorum ludebant ante faciem ducis et suorum nobilium, *sicut agni ovium ante arietes*.³ Transactis autem quibusdam diebus dux Arpad et sui nobiles communi consilio miserunt exercitum contra Menumorout ducem Byhoriensem^a, cui exercitui *principes et ductores* facti sunt Usubuu et Velec. Qui egressi sunt de insula equitantes per sabulum et fluvium Thyscie in portu Beuldu transnavigaverunt et inde equitantes iuxta fluvium Couroug castra meteti sunt et omnes Siculi, qui primo erant populi Athhyle regis,⁴ audita fama Usubuu obviam pacifici venerunt [SRH, 102] et sua sponte filios suos cum diversis muneribus in obsides dederunt. Et ante exercitum Usubuu in prima acie contra Menumorout pugnaturi ceperunt et statim filios Siculorum duci Arpad transmiserunt et ipsi precedentibus Siculis^b una contra Menumorout equitare ceperunt, fluvium Cris in [SRH, 103] Cervino Monte transnataverunt et inde equitantes iuxta fluvium Tekereu castra metati sunt.

^a Byhoriensen *Ms*

^b Siclis *Ms*

¹ 1 Chron. 22.18.

² In the DAI (ch. 40, pp. 178–9) Zolta is mentioned as the fourth son of Árpád.

³ Cf. Ps. 113.4.

their defenses and took their territories and, with God's help, their posterity keeps it to this present day *effectively and peacefully*. Then Ősbő and Őse, father of Örkény, and their army returned safe and sound with a great victory to Prince Árpád. For God, Whose mercy went before them, *delivered into the hands* of Prince Árpád and his warriors *their enemies*¹ and, by His hands, they reaped the fruits of other peoples' toils. When *they were rooted* and had conquered almost all the neighboring realms, they returned to the forest beside the Danube to hunt and, having sent their warriors home, the prince and his noblemen stayed there in that forest for ten days, and going from there, they descended to the city of King Attila and to Csepel island, where the princess and the other womenfolk of the noblemen were. That year, Prince Árpád begot a son, by the name of Zolta,² and *great joy was made* among the Hungarians, and for very many days the prince and his noblemen held great feasts, and their young men played games before the prince and his noblemen like the *lambs of ewes* before *rams*.³ Several days later, Prince Árpád and his noblemen sent by common counsel an army against Ménmarót, Prince of Bihar, of which army Ősbő and Velek were appointed the *chief men and commanders*. They marched off from the island and rode through the sand, crossing the Tisza River at the ford of Bőd; and, riding on, they encamped beside the Kórógy River. All the Székely, who were previously the peoples of King Attila,⁴ having heard of Ősbő's fame, came to make peace and, of their own will, gave their sons as hostages along with diverse gifts, and undertook to fight in the vanguard of Ősbő's army against Ménmarót. They forthwith sent the sons of the Székely to Prince Árpád, and, with the Székely before them, began to ride together against Ménmarót. They crossed the Körös River at Szarvashalom and, riding from there, encamped beside the Tekerő River.

⁴ The Székely borderguards (by ca. 1200 already settled in Transylvania) are here for the first time called the people of Attila. On them see now Zoltán Kordé, "Über die Herkunft der Szekler," in *Die Szekler in Siebenbürgen. Von der privilegierten Sondergemeinschaft zur ethnischen Gruppe*, ed. Harald Roth (Cologne, Weimar and Vienna: Böhlau, 2009), pp. 90–107.

LI. DE DUCE MENUMOROUT.

Hoc cum audivisset Menumorout^a, quod Usubuu et Velec nobilissimi milites ducis Arpad cum valida manu precedentibus Siculis^b contra eum venirent, timuit ultra, quam debuit et contra eos ausus venire non fuit eo, quod audiverat ducem Arpadium et suos milites validiores esse in bello et Romanos fugatos esse de Pannonia per ipsos et Carinthinorum Moroanensium fines devastasse et multa milia hominum occidisse *in ore gladii* eorum regnumque Pannoniorum occupasse et inimicos eorum ante faciem eorum fugisse. Tunc dux Menumorout dimissa multitudine militum in castro Byhor ipse cum uxore et filia sua fugiens a facie eorum in nemoribus Ygfon habitare^c cepit. Usubuu et Veluc omnisque exercitus eorum leti contra castrum Byhor equitare ceperunt et castra metati sunt iuxta fluvium Iouzas^d. Tercio autem die ordinatis exercitibus ad [SRH, 104] castrum bellando^e egressi sunt et e converso milites congregati ex diversis nationibus contra Usubuu et suos milites pugnare ceperunt. Syculi et Hungarii^f ictibus sagittarum multos hominum interfecerunt. Usubuu et Velec per balistas C XXV milites occiderunt. Et pugnatum est inter eos XII dies et de militibus Usubuu XX Hungarii et XV Syculi^g interfecti sunt. *Terciodecimo autem die^h* cum Hungari et Syculiⁱ fossata castri implevissent et *scalas ad murum* ponere vellent,¹ milites ducis Menumorout videntes audaciam Hungarorum, ceperunt rogare hos duos principes exercitus et aperto castro nudis pedibus supplicantes ante faciem Usubuu et Velec venerunt, quibus Usubuu et Velec custodiam ponentes ipsi in castrum Byhor intraverunt et multa bona illorum militum inibi invenerunt. Hoc cum Menumorout per nuntios fuga^j lapsos audivis-

^a Menurout *Ms*

^b Siclis *Ms*

^c cabitare *Ms corr.*

^d Iouzos *Ms corr.*

^e belland *Ms*

^f Hugarii *Ms*

^g Sycli *Ms*

51 PRINCE MÉNMARÓT

When Ménmarót heard that Ósbő and Velek, most noble warriors of Prince Árpád, had come against him with a strong force, with Székely in the vanguard, he feared more than was fitting and dared not go against them because he had heard that Prince Árpád and his warriors were stronger in war and that the Romans had been put to flight from Pannonia by them; that they had laid waste the borders of the Carinthians of the Mura, and slain many thousands of men at the *point of the sword*; and that they had occupied the realm of the Pannonians, and their enemies had fled before them. Then Prince Ménmarót, having left a host of warriors in the castle of Biharia, fleeing before them, betook himself and his wife and daughter to the groves of Igyfon. Ósbő and Velek and their entire army began happily to ride against the castle of Biharia and encamped beside the Józás River. On the third day, having put their armies into battle lines, they marched out to attack the castle, and, in turn, warriors gathered from diverse nations began to fight against Ósbő and his warriors. The Székely and the Hungarians killed many men with arrow shots. Ósbő and Velek killed 125 warriors with crossbows. And they fought with each other for twelve days and, of Ósbő's warriors, twenty Hungarians and fifteen Székely were killed. *On the thirteenth day*, when the Hungarians and Székely had filled in the castle's moats, and sought to *put ladders to the wall*,¹ the warriors of Prince Ménmarót, seeing the boldness of the Hungarians, began to petition the two chief men of the army [for terms] and, having thrown the castle open, they came before Ósbő and Velek, beseeching them barefoot. Putting a guard over them, Ósbő and Velek entered Biharia castle and found there the many treasures of the war-

^h terciodecimo die autem *Ms corr.*

ⁱ Sycli *Ms*

^j faga *Ms*

¹ The description of the siege is indebted to the *Excidium Troie* (ch. 64, p. 125) where it is followed by the wedding of Aeneas and Lavinia, just as here by that of Ménmarót's daughter (Silagi, *Gesta*, p. 176)

set, irruit in maximum timorem et misit nuntios suos cum diversis muneribus ad Usubuu et Velec et rogavit eos, ut ipsi paci faventes^a legatos suos ad ducem Arpad eundo^b dimitterent, qui nuntiarent ei, quod Menumorout, qui duci Arpad primo per legatos proprios Bulgarico corde superbe mandando terram cum pugillo se daturum [SRH, 105] negabat, modo per eosdem nuntios victus et prostratus totum regnum et Zulte filio Arpad filiam suam dare non dubitaret. Tunc Usubuu et Velec consilium eius laudaverunt et cum legatis suis nuntios miserunt, qui dominum suum ducem Arpadium causa pacis rogarent. Qui cum insulam Sepel intravissent et ducem Arpad salutassent, secunda die legati mandata Menumorout dixerunt. Dux vero Arpad inito consilio suorum nobilium mandata Menumorout dilexit et laudavit et, dum filiam Menumorout eiusdem etatis, ut filius suus Zultus, iam esse audivisset, petitionem Menumorout differre noluit et filiam¹ suam in uxorem Zulte accepit cum regno sibi promisso. Et missis legatis ad Usubuu et Veluc mandavit, ut celebratis nuptiis filiam Menumorout filio suo Zulte in uxorem acciperent et filios incolarum in obsides positos secum ducerent et duci Menumorout daret Byhor castrum.

LII. DE USUBUU, VELUC.

Usubuu et Veluc nec non omnis exercitus preceptis domini sui faventes filiam Monumorout celebratis nuptiis acceperunt et filios incolarum in obsides positos secum duxerunt et ipsum Menumorout in castro Byhor dimiserunt. Tunc Usubuu et Veluc cum magno honore et gaudio ad ducem Arpad reversi sunt, dux vero et sui yobagiones obviam eis processerunt et filiam Menumorout, sicut decet sponsam tanti ducis, honorifice ad ducalem domum duxerunt. Dux vero Arpad et omnes sui primates celebrantes nuptias *magna fecerunt convivium et fere cottidie comedebant nuptialiter* cum diversis mi-

^a ut ipsi *Ms add.*

^b eundi *Ms*

riors. When Ménmarót heard this from messengers that had taken to flight, he became very greatly afraid and sent his envoys with diverse gifts to Ósbő and Velek and asked them to incline to peace and to send their envoys to Prince Árpád to announce to him that Ménmarót, who had before haughtily with a Bulgarian heart sent word through his envoys to Prince Árpád, refusing to give him a handful of land, was now defeated and overthrown and did not hesitate to give, through the same envoys, his realm, and to Zolta, son of Árpád, his daughter. Then Ósbő and Velek praised his decision and sent emissaries along with his envoys to ask their lord, Prince Árpád, for peace. The day after the envoys had entered Csepel Island and greeted Prince Árpád, they delivered Ménmarót's message. Prince Árpád, having taken counsel of his noblemen, approved and praised Ménmarót's announcement and, when he heard that Ménmarót's daughter was the same age as his son Zolta, did not refuse Ménmarót's petition and he accepted Ménmarót's daughter¹ as Zolta's wife, along with the realm promised to him. Having sent envoys to Ósbő and Velek, he instructed that, once they were betrothed, they should accept the daughter of Ménmarót as wife to his son, Zolta; take with them the sons of the inhabitants placed as hostages; and give the castle of Biharia to Prince Ménmarót.

52 ÓSBŐ AND VELEK

Ósbő and Velek and the whole army, following the orders of their lord, received the daughter of Ménmarót after the betrothal; and they took with them the sons of the inhabitants placed as hostages and left Ménmarót himself in the castle of Biharia. Then Ósbő and Velek returned with great honor and joy to Prince Árpád, and the prince and his great men proceeded to receive them and they led the daughter of Ménmarót to the prince's home with honor, as befitted the bride of so great a prince. Prince Árpád and all his leading men *made great banquets* to celebrate the wedding and *almost*

¹ Here again, no name is given; see above n. 9. p. 15; below, n. 1, p. 126.

litibus^a circumiacentium regnorum et iuvenes eorum ludebant ante faciem ducis et suorum nobilium. Dux Arpad accepto iuramento primatum et militum Hungarie filium suum Zultam ducem cum magno honore elevari fecit.¹ Tunc dux Usubunec patri Zoloucu pro suo fidelissimo servicio dedit castrum Bezprem cum omnibus^b appendiciis suis et Velucio^c [SRH, 106] dedit comitatum de Zarand et sic ceteris nobilibus honores et loca condonavit. Menumorout post istam causam in secundo anno sine filio mortuus est et regnum eius totaliter Zulte generi suo dimisit in pace. Post hec anno domini incarnationis DCCCCVII dux Arpad migravit de hoc seculo, qui honorifice sepultus est supra caput unius parvi fluminis, qui descendit per alveum lapideum in civitatem Atthile regis, ubi etiam post conversionem Hungarorum edificata est ecclesia, que vocatur Alba, sub honore beate Marie virginis.²

LIII. DE SUCCESSIONE^d ZULTE DUCIS.

Et successit ei filius Zulta *similis patri moribus, dissimilis natura*.³ Fuit enim dux Zulta parum *blesus et candidus, capillo molli et flavo, statura mediocri, dux bellicosus, animo fortis*, sed *in civibus* [SRH, 107] *clemens, voce suavi*, sed *cupidus imperii*,⁴ quem omnes primates et milites Hungarie miro modo diligebant. Transactis quibusdam temporibus dux Zulta cum esset XIII^{cim} annorum, omnes primates regni sui communi consilio et pari voluntate quosdam rectores regni sub duce prefecerunt, qui moderamine iuris consuetudinis *dissidentium lites contentionesque sopirent*.⁵ Alios autem

^a milibus *Ms*

^b ominibus *Ms*

^c Veluquio *Ms*

^d suscessione *Ms*

¹ Scholars assume that Zolta was prince of the Hungarians in the years 907–9.

² Remnants of the aqueduct from Fejéregyháza (on the territory of today's north Buda[pest]) have been found by archaeologists.

every day they ate as at a wedding with diverse warriors of the realms around, and their young men played games before the prince and his noblemen. Prince Árpád, having taken an oath of the leading men and warriors of Hungary, had his son, Prince Zolta, elevated [to the princely office] with great honor.¹ Then the prince gave for his most faithful service to Ősbő, father of Szalók, the castle of Veszprém together with all its appurtenances and to Velek he gave the county of Zaránd and he likewise gave to the other noblemen honors and villages. The following year after all this, Ménmarót died without a son and left his whole kingdom in peace to Zolta, his son-in-law. After this, in the year of Our Lord's incarnation 907, Árpád left this world and was buried with honor at the head of a small river that flows through a stone culvert to the city of King Attila where, after the conversion of the Hungarians, was built the church that is called Fehéregyháza in honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary.²

53 THE SUCCESSION OF PRINCE ZOLTA

And his son Zolta succeeded him, *who was similar to his father in character but dissimilar in appearance*.³ Prince Zolta was a little *lisping and pale, with soft, blond hair, of middling stature; a warlike duke, brave in spirit, merciful to his subjects, sweet of speech, but covetous of power*,⁴ whom all the leading men and warriors of Hungary loved marvelously. Some time later, when Zolta was thirteen, all the leading men of the realm by their common counsel and of their equal wish appointed rectors of the kingdom beneath the prince *to mend* through the guidance of customary law the *conflicts and lawsuits of litigants*.⁵ They appointed others as leaders of the army to

³ We follow here the interpretation given by Silagi, *Gesta*, p. 123.

⁴ Dares, ch. 12.

⁵ Cf. Isidore, *Sententiae*, 3.52.7–9 (*moderamine legum*)—Pierre Cazier, ed., Isidorus Hispalensis *Sententiae*, PL 83 (Turnholti: Brepols, 1998); Idem, *Etym.* 5.10 (*dissidentium lites contentionesque sopirent*); and Gratian, *Decr.* 1.2.5). Also cf. Simon of Kéza, ch. 7 (p. 28).

constituerunt ductores exercitus, cum quibus diversa regna vastarent, quorum nomina hec fuerunt: Lelu filius Tosu, Bulsuu *vir sanguinis*¹ filius Bogat, Botond^a filius Culpun. Erant enim isti viri bellicosi et fortes in animo, quorum cura nulla fuit alia, nisi domino suo subiugare gentes et devastare regna aliorum. Qui accepta licentia a duce Zulta cum exercitu Caranthino decreverunt et per Forum Iulii in marchiam *Lombardie* venerunt, ubi civitatem Paduam *cedibus et incendiis* et gladio et *rapinis* magnis *crudeliter devastaverunt*. Ex hinc² intrantes Lombardiam multa *mala facere ceperunt*. Quorum *violentie ac belluino furori cum terre incole in unum augmen conglebate resistere conarentur*, tunc *innumerabilis multitudo Lombardorum per Hungaros ictibus sagitarum periit quam plurimis episcopis et comitibus trucidatis*. Tunc Lutvardus episcopus *Vercellensis ecclesie*³ vir nominatissimus *Caroli* minoris *quondam imperatoris*⁴ familiarissimus amicus ac [SRH, 108] *fidelissimus consiliarius a secreto hoc audito assumptis secum opibus atque incomparabilibus thesauris, quibus ultra, quam estimari potest, habundabat, cum omnibus votis effugere laboraret eorum cruentam ferocitatem, tunc inscius^b super Hungaros incidit et mox ab eis captus interficitur et thesaurum existimationem humanam transcendentem, quem secum ferebat, rapuerunt. Eodemque tempore Stephanus frater Waldonis comitis cum in secessu residens super murum castris in nocturnis horis^c alvum purgare vellet, tunc a quodam Hungaro per fenestram cubiculi sui sagitte ictu graviter vulneratur, de quo vulnere eadem nocte extinguitur.*⁵

^a Bonton *Ms*

^b incius *Ms corr.*

^c horis *Ms om.*

¹ Prov. 29.10.

² From here until the end of ch. 54, the text follows almost verbatim Regino of Prüm ad a. 901, and his continuator ad a. 907–10 (pp. 148–9, 154).

³ Bishop Liutward of Vercelli was killed on 24 June 900 (Regino gives this for 901, p. 148).

lay waste various realms, whose names were these: Lél, son of Tas, Bulcsú, a *bloodthirsty man*,¹ the son of Bogát, and Botond, the son of Kölpény. These were warlike men, brave in spirit, whose concern was none other than to conquer peoples for their lord and lay waste the realms of others. With leave of Prince Zolta, they fought with a Carinthian army and came through Friuli to the march of Lombardy where they *brutally sacked* the city of Padua *with slaughter, fire, the sword and great plundering*. Thence,² entering Lombardy, they *did many evil things*. *When the inhabitants of the land, massed in a single army, sought to stand against their violence and monstrous fury, an innumerable host of the Lombards were felled by the arrow shots of the Hungarians and many bishops and counts were butchered*. Then, having heard this, Liutward, bishop of the church of Vercelli,³ a man of the greatest renown, most dear friend and most faithful privy counselor of Charles the Lesser, the former emperor,⁴ *taking with him his riches and matchless treasures which were more plentiful than may be reckoned, endeavoring in every way to escape their bloody savagery, came unwittingly upon the Hungarians and, being speedily captured by them, was killed, and the treasure that he brought that was beyond human reckoning seized. At the same time, Stephen, the brother of Count Waldo, while sitting at night on the privy above the wall of the castle to empty his bowels, was severely wounded by the arrow shot of a Hungarian through the chamber's hatchway and died that night of the wound*.⁵

⁴ Charles III 'the Fat,' king of Italy from 879 and emperor from 881; he was deposed in 887 and died in 888.

⁵ The murder of Count Waldo's brother (Regino ad a. 901, p. 149) is mistakenly assigned to the Hungarians. Killing a person on the privy (easily accessible as outside the walls!) was seen by Gregory of Tours as a deserved punishment for certain heretics, being similar to the death of the heresiarch Arius—*Hist. Franc.* 3.7–8; see *The History of the Franks*, trans. L. Thorpe (London: Penguin 1974); Cosmas of Prague describes a similar case in respect of Duke Jaromir's murder (1: 42, p. 79). See Danuta Schanzer, "Laughter and Humour in the Early Medieval West," in *Humour, History, and Politics and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Guy Halsall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 26–7.

LIV. DE DEVASTATIONE LOTORINGIE^a,
ALEMANNIE ET FRANCIE.

Deinde Lotoringiam^b et Alemanniam devastaverunt, Francos quoque orientales in confinio Franconie et Bava[SRH, 109]rie multis milibus eorum cesis ictibus sagittarum in turpem fugam converterunt et omnia bona eorum accipientes ad ducem Zultam in Hungariam reversi sunt.

LV. DE MORTE LELU ET BULSUU.

Postea vero anno V regnante Cuonrado^c imperatore,¹ Lelu, Bulsu, Botond incliti quondam et gloriosissimi² milites Zulte ducis Hungarie missi a domino suo partes Alemannie^d irrupuerunt et multa bona eorum acceperunt. Sed tandem Bavarorum et Alemannorum nefandis fraudibus Lelu et Bulsuu capti sunt et iuxta fluvium Hin in patibulo suspensi occiduntur.³ Botondu et alii Hungarorum milites, qui ex eis residui fuerant, videntes se malo dolo inimicorum coarctatos, audacter^e et viriliter [SRH, 110] steterunt. Et ab invicem non sunt alienati, sed alter alteram partem mansuram^f in periculum precipue sumpserunt adiuvere et vulneratorum more leonum in media arma fremebundi ruentes in hostes suos gravissima cede prostraverunt. Et quamvis erant victi, tamen victores suos forcius et victoriosius vicerunt et gravissima cede prostraverunt. Felix igitur Hungarorum embola multa pericolorum experientia iam securior et exercitior⁴ de ipsa continua exercitatione preliorum

^a Lotorigie *Ms*

^b Lotoringiam *Ms*

^c Cunrado *Ms corr.*

^d Alimannie *Ms corr.*

^e audaucter *Ms*

^f mensuram *Ms*

¹ Conrad I, king of Germany, 911–918. It is unclear what date Anonymus meant by “anno V”; perhaps he was counting from his last date, 907, or referring to Conrad’s regnal years.

54 LAYING WASTE OF LORRAINE, SWABIA, AND FRANCA

Then they laid waste Lorraine and Germany, and they also put to ignominious flight the Eastern Franks on the border of Franconia and Bavaria, slaying many thousands of them by arrow shots, and, taking all their goods, they returned to Prince Zolta in Hungary.

55 THE DEATHS OF LÉL AND BULCSÚ

Five years later, during the reign of Emperor Conrad,¹ Lél, Bulcsú and Botond, the warriors of the late most glorious² Prince Zolta of Hungary, having been dispatched by their lord, stormed the districts of Germany and took many of their goods. But, at last, by the despicable tricks of the Bavarians and Swabians, Lél and Bulcsú were captured and killed, hanged from a gallows beside the Inn River.³ Botond and the other warriors of the Hungarians, what was left of them, seeing themselves hemmed in by the guile of the foes, bravely and manfully stood ground. They did not separate from one another, but went especially to the aid of those still in danger, and like wounded lions they rushed into battle with roars against their foes and laid them low with the mightiest slaughter. Although they were defeated, they nevertheless beat the victors in courage and valor and laid them low with the mightiest slaughter. Happy now the Hungarian forces, safely through their dangerous courses, more warlike still from steady fight,⁴ excelling in both men

² Our translation is based on the parallel to the in the opening line of the *Gesta*.

³ Usually dated to 955 and not 916. Cf. the Annals of St Gall which record the hanging of a Hungarian king, *nomine Pulszi*, following the battle of Lechfeld in 955, and the death that year in a separate battle of a second king, *nomine Lele* (*Annales Sangallenses Maiores*, ed. G. H. Pertz, MGH SS, I, 1826, p. 79); in general, see Charles R. Bowlus, *The Battle of Lechfeld and Its Aftermath* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).

⁴ On a possible model of the wordplay here, see above, p. XXX.

viribus et potestate prestantior¹ totam Bavariam et Alemanniam ac Saxoniam et regnum Lathariense *igne et gladio consumpserunt* et *Erchangerum*^a atque *Bertoldum*^b duces eorum *decollaverunt*.² Hinc vero egressi Franciam et Galliam expugnaverunt et, dum [SRH, 111] inde victores reverterentur, ex insidiis Saxonum magna strage perierunt. Qui autem ex ipsis evaserunt, ad propria redierunt. Sed de morte Lelu et Bulsuu aliorumque suorum militum dux Zulta et sui primates non modicum sunt conturbati et inimici Theotonicorum sunt facti. Tunc dux Zulta et sui milites propter illatam iniuriam inimicorum contra eos inspirare ceperunt et quolibet modo possent, eis vicem^c reddere non tacerent. Sed divina gratia adiuvante dux Zulta anno dominice incarnationis DCCCCXXI genuit filium, quem nominavit Tocsun, pulchris oculis et magnis, capilli nigri et molles, *comam habebat, ut leo*,³ ut insequentibus audietis.

LVI. DE INIMICIS ATHONIS REGIS.

Eodem anno *inimici* Athonis *regis* Theotonicorum in necem eius detestabili facinore machinabantur.⁴ Qui cum per se nichil mali ei facere potuissent, auxilium Hungarorum rogare ceperunt, quia sciebant, quod Hungarii essent insuperabiles in assuetis bellorum laboribus et plurimis regnis deus per eos furoris sui flagella propi-

^a Erchangerum *Ms*

^b Bertoldum *Ms corr.*

^c vincere *Ms*

¹ Three rhymed clauses.

² Cf. the Continuator of Regino, ad a. 909–17 (p. 155). The Swabian brothers, Erchanger and Berthold, were in fact executed by Conrad I in 917.

³ For Taksony, see DAI, ch. 40, pp. 178–9, and Liudprandi Cremonensis, *Opera omnia: Antapodosis, Homelia paschalis, Historia Ottonis, Relatio de legatione Constantinopolitana*, ed. Paulo Chiesa, p.** (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), where he is called *Taxis*—he may have been prince of the Hungarians ca. 947 to ca. 972. On the comparison

and might.¹ They *destroyed* all Bavaria, Swabia, Saxony and the realm of Lorraine *by fire and the sword*, and *beheaded* their dukes, *Erchanger* and *Bertold*.² Marching on from there, they stormed Francia and Gaul, but, as they returned victorious from there, were slain in a great massacre in an ambush of the Saxons. Those of them that escaped went homeward. But Prince Zolta and his chief men were not a little dismayed by the death of Lél and Bulcsú and their other warriors, and they became enemies of the Germans. Then Prince Zolta and his warriors became inflamed against them because of the injury done to them by their foes, and did not hide that they intended to repay them for it however they could. But, with God's grace, Prince Zolta, in the year of Our Lord's incarnation 931 begot a son, who was called Taksony, who had handsome, big eyes and soft, black *hair like a lion's mane*,³ as you may hear in the following.

56 THE ENEMIES OF KING OTTO

In that same year, the *enemies of King Otto* of the Germans plotted his death in a loathsome crime.⁴ When they failed by themselves to do him harm, they asked the Hungarians for help because they knew that the Hungarians were insuperable in their accustomed hardships of war and that through them God smote many realms

with the lion, see Dirk Jäckel, *Der Herrscher als Löwe. Ursprung und Gebrauch eines politischen Symbols im Früh- und Hochmittelalter* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2006); on medieval attitudes to physiognomy, see Enikő Békés, "The Lion and King Matthias Corvinus: A Renaissance Interpretation of a Classical Physiognomic Image," in *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 10 (Budapest: CEU, 2004), pp. 77–94 (here pp. 78–81).

⁴ Anonymus's chronology is shaky here. Otto I succeeded as king in 936 and faced almost immediately rebellions in Bavaria and Saxony. Otto's brother, Henry, attempted to assassinate the king at Easter, 941. In 953, Otto's son, Liudolf of Swabia, and brother-in-law, Conrad of Lotharingia, launched an uprising of their own, obtaining Hungarian aid. All of these events, however, predate the Hungarian defeats of 955 and the deaths of Lél and Bulcsú. See Timothy Reuter, *Germany in the Early Middle Ages, 800–1056* (London and New York: Longman, 1991), pp. 148–56.

nasset.¹ Tunc illi inimici Athonis regis Teothonicorum miserunt nuncios suos ad Zultam ducem virum bellicosum et rogavit eum dato auro multo, ut adiutorio Hungaro predictum regem Athonem invaderent. Dux vero Zulta iracundia ductus, tam pro eorum *prece^a et precio²*, quam etiam pro morte Lelu et Bulsuu gemebundo pectore misit exercitum magnum [SRH, 112] contra Athonem regem Teothonicorum. Quibus *principes et ductores* fecit Botundium filium Culpum et Zobolsum filium Eleud nec non Urcundium^b filium Eusee. Qui cum egressi essent a duce Zulta, rursus Bavariam Alemanniam et Saxoniam atque Turingiam in gladio percusserunt et exinde egressi *in quadragesima transierunt Renum* fluvium et regnum Latariense in arcu et sagittis exterminaverunt. Universam quoque Galliam atrociter affligentes *ecclesias dei crudeliter* intrantes spoliaverunt. Inde per abrupta^c Senonensium per populos aliminos³ ferro sibi viam et gladio apperuerunt. Superatis ergo illis bellicosissimis gentibus et naturali situ locorum tutissimis montes Senonum transcenderunt et Segusam ceperunt civitatem. Deinde egressi Taurinam civitatem opulentissimam expugnaverunt^d et, postquam planam regionem Lambardie aspexerunt, totam pene Italiam bonis omnibus affluentem et exuberantem conscitatis^e cursibus spoliaverunt. Deinde vero Botond filius Culpun et Urcun filius Eusee superatis omnibus gentibus prememoratis felici victoria fruenter ad propria regna revertuntur. Tunc Hoto rex Teothonicorum posuit insidias [SRH, 113] iuxta Renum fluvium et cum omni robore regni sui eos invadens multos ex eis interfecit. Botond et Urcun ac reliqui exercitus^f magis volentes mori in bello, quam

^a pace *Ms* (see Szovák, *Gesta Hungarorum*, p. 67.)

^b Ircundium *Ms*, corr. ex Icundium

^c ex abruta *Ms* corr.

^d ceperunt *Ms* corr.

^e conscitatis *Ms* corr.

^f exercitum *Ms*

with His scourge of wrath.¹ Then these enemies of Otto, king of the Germans, sent their envoys to Prince Zolta, a warlike man, and having given him much gold, asked him whether they might attack the aforesaid King Otto with Hungarian support. Prince Zolta, led by wrath, as much on account of their *request and reward*² as on account of his mournful heart for the death of Lél and Bulcsú, sent a great army against Otto, king of the Germans. He appointed as its *chief men and commanders* Botond, son of Kölpény, Szabolcs, son of Előd, and Örkény, son of Öse. Having departed from Prince Zolta, they put once more to the sword Bavaria, Swabia, Saxony and Thuringia and, marching from there, *crossed the Rhine during Lent* and destroyed the realm of Lorraine with bows and arrows. Savagely casting down all Gaul, they *remorselessly* entered the *churches of God* and plundered them. Thence they forced their way by iron and the sword along the cliffs of Mont Cenis through the Alimin peoples.³ Having subdued these most warlike peoples, who were very well protected by natural locations, they crossed Mont Cenis and took the city of Susa. Then, marching on, they stormed the most wealthy city of Turin. After they had looked upon the plain of Lombardy, they despoiled in swift moves almost all Italy, which abounds and overflows with all treasures. Then Botond, son of Kölpény, and Örkény, son of Öse, having vanquished all the aforesaid peoples, returned to their own lands, delighting in happy victory. Then Otto, king of the Germans, set up an ambush along the Rhine and, attacking them with all the strength of his realm, killed many of them. Botond, Örkény and the rest of their forces, preferring to die in battle than to lose a victory due them, pressed

¹ The Hungarians (or the Huns) as the “scourge of God” was in the notary’s time a widespread commonplace, used for Attila as well as—implicitly—for the early Magyars, whom the Life of St Stephen describes as instruments of God in punishing the sinful (*Vita maior S. Stephani Regis*, ch. 1; SRH 2, pp. 378).

² Frequently used rhetorical turn, found also in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (3.3.4).

³ The *populos Aliminos* have not been convincingly identified, but the name may conceal the Latin *ad* and *limen*, thus implying their relative distances. See Silagi, *Gesta*, p. 179.

appropriatam sibi victoriam amitterent, tunc hostibus pertinaciter insistunt et in eodem bello quendam magnum ducem, virum nominatissimum interficiunt et alios graviter vulneratos in fugam convertunt, quorum spolia diripiunt et exinde ad propria redeunt regna cum magna victoria. Et cum Bothond et Urcun in terram Pannonie leti reverterentur, tunc Bothond longo labore belli fatigatus miro modo infirmari cepit, ex luce migravit et sepultus est prope fluvium Uereucea.¹ Sed istud notum sit omnibus scire volentibus, quod milites Hungarorum hec et alia huiusmodi bella usque ad tempora Tocsun^a ducis gesserunt.²

LVII. DE CONSTITUCIONE REGNI.

Dux vero Zulta post reversionem militum suorum fixit metas regni Hungarie ex parte Grecorum usque ad portam Wacil et usque ad terram Racy. Ab occidente usque ad mare, ubi est Spaletina civitas, et ex parte Theotonicorum usque ad pontem Guncil³ et in eisdem partibus dedit castrum⁴ construere Ruthenis, qui cum Almo duce avo suo in Pannoniam venerant, et in eodem confinio ultra lutum Musun collocavit etiam Bissenos non paucos habi[SRH, 114]tare pro defensione regni sui,⁵ ut ne aliquando in posterum furibundi Theotonici propter iniuriam sibi illatam fines Hungarorum devastare possent. Ex parte vero Boemorum fixit metas usque ad fluvium Moroa sub tali condicione, ut dux eorum annuatim tributa persolveret duci Hungarie, et eodem modo ex parte Polonorum usque ad montem Turtur, sicut primo fecerat regni metam Borsu filius Bunger. Et dum dux Zulta et sui milites ita *radicati* essent

^a Tucsun *Ms*

¹ Anonymus may have connected Botond to the monastery of Bot/Bátmonostor in Co. Bodrog, founded in the 1090s next to the Verőce River..

² On the series of raids of the Hungarians—close to fifty known campaigns—see Szabolcs de Vajay, *Der Eintritt des ungarischen Stammesverbandes in die europäische Geschichte 862–933* (Mainz: Hase & Koehler, 1968).

firmly against the foes and they slew in that battle a great duke, a most renowned man, and, severely wounding others, put them to flight, plundered them and returned from there to their own lands with a great victory. And after Botond and Örkény had returned joyously to the land of Pannonia, Botond, worn out by the long travail of war, began strangely to weaken, passed from the world and was buried by the Verőce River.¹ But this should be noted by all those who wish to know, that the warriors of the Hungarians waged these and other wars up to the times of Prince Taksony.²

57. THE ORDERING OF THE REALM

After the return of his warriors, Prince Zolta established the borders of the realm of Hungary on the side of the Greeks, as far as the Gate of Basil and the land of Serbia; to the west as far as the sea where the city of Split is, and on the side of the Germans as far as Bruck a.d. Leitha,³ and in the same place he gave to the Rus', who had come to Pannonia with his grandfather, Prince Álmos, a castle to build,⁴ and on the same border, beyond the mire of Moson, he gathered not a few Pechenegs to live there for the defense of his realm,⁵ lest at any time in the future the Germans, enraged by the harm done to them, should lay waste the Hungarians' borders. On the side of the Czechs, he set the border as far as the Morava River on condition that their duke paid an annual tribute to the prince of Hungary, and in the same way he put on the side of the Poles the border at Tatry Mountain, just as Bors, son of Böngér, had done previously. And as Prince Zolta and his warriors were *rooted* throughout Hungary, Prince Zolta brought to

³ The Latin name of the location (and bridge), *Guncil*, comes from the diminutive of Conrad, namely Küntzel or Güntzil; see A. Ernst, "Die 'pons Güncil' des Anonymen Magister P.," *Burgenländische Heimatblätter* 17 (1955), pp. 158–62.

⁴ Oroszvár, now Rusovce, Slovakia.

⁵ See Göckenjan, *Grenzwächter*, pp. 89–114.

ubique Hungarie^a, tunc dux Zulta duxit filio Tocsun uxorem¹ de terra Cumanorum et ipso vivente accepit iuramenta suorum nobilium et filium suum Tocsun fecit ducem ac dominatorem super totum regnum Hungarie. Et ipse dux Zulta III^o anno regni filii sui^b de ergastulo corporis viam universe carnis egressus est. Thocsun vero dux cum omnibus primatibus Hungarie *potenter et pacifice* per omnes dies vite sue obtinuit omnia iura regni sui et audita pietate ipsius^c multi hospites confluebant ad eum ex diversis nationibus. Nam de terra Bular venerunt quidam nobilissimi domini cum magna multitudine^d Hismahelitarum, quorum nomina fuerunt Billa et Bocsu, quibus [SRH, 115] dux per diversa loca Hungarorum condonavit terras et insuper castrum, quod dicitur Pest,² in perpetuum concessit. Bylla vero et frater eius Bocsu, a quorum progenie Ethey³ descendit, inito consilio de populo secum ducto duas partes ad servitium predicti castri concesserunt, terciam vero partem suis posteris dimiserunt.⁴ Et eodem tempore de eadem regione venit quidam nobilissimus miles nomine Heten, cui etiam dux terras at alias possessiones non [SRH, 116] modicas condonavit. Dux vero Thocsun genuit filium nomine Geysam quintum ducem Hungarie.⁵ Et in eodem tempore de terra Byssenorum venit quidam miles de ducali progenie, cuius nomen fuit Thonuzoba^e pater Urcund, a quo descendit genus Thomoy, cui dux Thocsun dedit terram habitandi in partibus Kemey usque ad Tysciam, ubi nunc est portus Obad. Sed iste Thonuzoba vixit usque ad tempora sancti regis Stephani [SRH, 117] nepotis ducis Tocsun. Et dum beatus rex Ste-

^a unque Hungarii *Ms* (corr. Szovák, *Gesta Hungarorum*, p. 67; cf. Juhász, *Gesta*, p. 39: undique in Hungaria)

^b sui filii *Ms corr.*

^c sua *Ms corr.*

^d multitudine *Ms corr.*

^e Thonuzo/e?ba *Ms corr.*

his son, Taksony, a wife from the land of the Cumans¹ and, while still alive, took oaths of his noblemen and made his son prince and ruler over the whole realm of Hungary. And Prince Zolta, in the third year of his son's reign, departed in the way of all flesh from the body's prison. Prince Taksony with all the leading men of Hungary maintained *effectively and peacefully* all the laws of his realm for all the days of his life, and having heard of his kindness many guests of various nations flocked to him. And from the land of Bular, there came some most noble lords with a great host of Muslims, whose names were Billa and Baks, to whom the prince granted lands in various parts of Hungary, and he gave in perpetuity, moreover, the castle that is called Pest.² Billa and his brother, Baks, from whom the line of Etej³ descends, having taken counsel, gave two parts of the people they had brought with them to the service of the aforesaid castle and they left the third part to their descendants.⁴ At the same time, there came from the same region a most noble warrior, Hetény by name, to whom the prince gave no small lands and other properties. Prince Taksony begot a son, Géza by name, the fifth prince of Hungary.⁵ At that time, there came from the land of the Pechenegs a warrior of ducal stock, whose name was Tonuzoba, father of Örkénd, from whom the Tomaj kindred descends, to whom Prince Taksony gave a land to dwell in in the region of Kemej as far as the Tisza where is now the ford of Abád. This Tonuzoba lived to the times of the holy King Stephen, the grandson of Prince Taksony. And when St Stephen preached

¹ The origin of the (unnamed!) "Cuman" wife of Taksony remains an enigma.

² On the early history of Hungary's Muslims, see Berend, *At the Gate*, pp. 64–8.

³ In fact, an 'Etheius' is mentioned in 1111 as a royal moneyer, an occupation associated at that time with Muslims. See László Fejerpataky, *Kálmán király oklevelei* (Budapest: MTA, 1892), p. 43.

⁴ On this type of division, see above, ch. 15, p. 42 with n. 3.

⁵ Géza, prince of Hungary ca. 972–97.

phanus verba vite predicaret et Hungaros baptizaret, tunc Thonuzoba in fide vanus noluit esse Christianus,¹ sed cum uxore vivus^{a, 2} ad portum Obad³ est sepultus, ut ne baptizando ipse et uxor sua viverent cum Christo in eternum, sed Urcun filius suus Christianus factus vivit cum Christo in perpetuum.

^a vivos *Ms corr.*

the word of Christians and baptized all Hungarians, Tonuzoba in faith stubborn, in baptism refused to be reborn;¹ he was buried alive² with his wife at the ford of Abád³ lest by baptism he and his wife should live with Christ in eternity, but Örkénd, his son, having been made a Christian, lives in Christ in perpetuity.

¹ Four rhymed clauses, translated with some poetic license.

² Most students of the text argue that Anonymus did not mean this literally but rather as a metaphor: Christians live in eternity while pagans bury themselves “alive,” deprived of eternal life (cf. Rom. 6.3–11). Interestingly, the contemporary *Chroniques des comtes d'Anjou* ends with very similar verses, including “*nam vivere mundo, Mors est...*”—ed. Paul Marchegay and André Salmon, Soc. Hist. Fr. 155 (Paris: Renouard, 1865–71), 1: 363. The phrase itself ultimately derives from St Augustine, *Epistolae*, no 32 (Migne, *PL*, 33, col. 129). The issue is discussed in detail in János Bollók, “L’authenticité historique de la légende de Thonuzoba,” *Annales Universitatis Scientiarum Budapestiensis de R. Eötvös nominatae. Linguistica* 11 (1980), pp. 31–42.

³ The indication of a definite location of their burial (now Abádszalók) speaks, however, against the above metaphorical interpretation.

INTRODUCTION

The report of Master Roger on the Mongol invasion of Hungary is a rare text, being an eyewitness account of a major historical event in the thirteenth century. As such, it may be compared on the one hand with Galbert of Bruges's twelfth-century narrative of the murder of Charles the Good, and, on the other, with Archdeacon Thomas of Split's less immediate, but still contemporary account of the Mongol attack.¹

Although written within a few years after the events of 1241–42, the text is extant only in a fifteenth-century printed edition. It is clear from the biography of the author (see below) that it was completed before 1244, but its fate over the following two and a half centuries remains unknown. The first edition was printed in 1488 in Brno as an appendix to the Hungarian Chronicle of John Thuróczi, royal notary and historian.² Since the sponsor of that edition was in all likelihood John Filipec, bishop of Várad/Oradea and diplomat and counselor of King Matthias I Corvinus, it is possible that Filipec gave a manuscript to the printer (or to Thuróczi).³ At the time of the Mongol attack, Master Roger was archdeacon of Oradea; consequently, a copy of his narrative may have been pre-

¹ For other eyewitness accounts and contemporary reports of the Mongols, see Gian Andri Bezzola, *Die Mongolen in abendländischer Sicht (1220–1270). Ein Beitrag zur Frage der Völkerbegegnungen* (Bern and Munich: Francke, 1974), pp. 66–109; for a general analysis of the Mongol's perception in and relations to the West, see now Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the Latin West, 1221–1405* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2005).

² See now Johannes Thuróczy, *Chronica Hungarorum*, ed. Elemér Mályusz, Gyula Kristó and Erzsébet Galántai, 3 vols. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1985–88).

³ On Filipec's sponsorship of the Brno *officina*, see Vladislav Dokoupil, *Počátky brněnské knihtisku: Prvotisky* [The beginnings of book-printing in Brno: Incunabula] (Brno: Univerzitní knihovna v Brně and Archiv města Brna, 1974). We are grateful to Antonín Kalous for drawing our attention to this title.

served in the Oradea cathedral, with which Filipec kept in touch during his diplomatic missions. Whatever the case, no manuscript has survived. But within just a few months of its publication, the *editio princeps* was re-edited in Augsburg, and then in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries several more printings appeared.⁴ In each instance, the editors added some “emendations” to the text, usually according to their taste in Latin. Its title, also emended several times, was probably the creation of a later copyist or the first editor. In the 1488 edition it runs (in translation): “Epistle of Master Roger to (or for) a Pitiabie (or Sorrowful) Lament on the Destruction of Hungary by the Tatars Written to Bishop John of Pest.” Some editors or translators assumed the existence of a lost *Carmen miserabile* that would have been originally attached to the letter, but there are no evidence for such an assumption: although it was not formally composed in verse, the epistle itself is a “mournful song.” Moreover, in the title the identification of the bishop is erroneous. There was no bishopric in Pest, and no John is known to have been a prelate in Hungary at the time of the text’s composition. Rather, the manuscript exemplar may have had (as was often the case) only the initials I and P. It is in fact clear from the biography of Roger that the reference was to *Iacobus*, bishop of *Preneste*, i.e., Giacomo di Pecorari, bishop of Palestrina. While the epistle is addressed to one person, it is most likely that Master Roger expected a wider circulation for his lament.

In his detailed study of the *Carmen miserabile* (as Roger’s text traditionally came to be called), Tihamér Turchányi suggested a number of emendations to the text and pointed to passages that may be interpolations. Somewhat hypercritically, he also called into question the originality of the title, the chapter headings, and even the text’s division into chapters.⁵ Ladislaus (László) Juhász, in his critical edition in the now standard collection of early medieval

⁴ See Bibliography, below, p. 231.

⁵ Tihamér Turchányi, “Rogerius mester *Síralmas éneke* a tatárjárásról” [The *Carmen miserabile* of Master Roger about the Mongol invasion], *Századok* 37 (1903), pp. 412–30 and 493–514.

Hungarian narratives, the SRH,⁶ utilized some of Turchányi's comments. We follow essentially Juhász's edition but amend obvious grammatical and orthographic errors.

Master Roger is known to have been in the service of the Roman curia since the 1230s. He was born some time around 1205 in Torre Maggiore in Apulia.⁷ While his subsequent career is well documented, we know nothing about his youth. His title implies some higher education, but no record has been found on where he acquired his degree. From his epistle, one may suspect he had training not only in law (canon law?) but also in the arts (see below). As chaplain of the cardinal legate Giacomo di Pecorari, he visited Hungary in 1232. The cardinal, who came to settle the conflict between King Andrew II (1204–1235) and Archbishop Robert, stayed for two years in the country. Roger seems to have desired to remain there, and obtained the position first of chaplain and later of archdeacon of the bishopric of Oradea in eastern Hungary. While he appears to have accompanied his master on missions to Italy and elsewhere (1236–1239), he was in Oradea when the Mongols attacked Hungary in 1241. Unlike the bishop, who fled west, Roger remained in the town, and sought refuge in the surrounding countryside. He eventually fell into the hands of the “Tatars,” from whom he escaped only during their retreat in 1242.⁸ Returning to Rome, he requested a new posting, as Oradea had been completely razed by the Mongols. He was then appointed archdeacon of the western Hungarian city of Sopron, where he arrived in 1243. It is most likely that he wrote his epistle to his former patron, Bishop James, while at Sopron, because the latter died a short time later on June 26, 1244. Thereafter, Roger ap-

⁶ SRH 2, 543–88.

⁷ While this birthplace is commonly accepted, Thomas of Split, who knew him well, wrote that he was from *Turris Cepia* in Benevento (Thomas of Split, pp. 358–59). But this may be a mistake, for such a town has not been identified.

⁸ The vicissitudes of the author are discussed in a comparative context by James Ross Sweeney, “Identifying the medieval refugee: Hungarians in flight during the Mongol invasion,” in *Forms of Identity*, ed. Ladislaus Löb et al. (Szeged: JATE, 1994), pp. 63–76.

peared in the service of Cardinal John of Toledo, with whom he attended the council of Lyon in 1245, already as canon of Zagreb. Franz Babinger suggested that Roger was influential in shaping papal policy towards the Mongols, who at that time became the subject of the papacy's missionary and diplomatic plans.⁹ In 1249, Ugrin, archbishop of Split in Dalmatia, died, and Pope Innocent IV named Roger as Ugrin's successor on April 30, 1249. The citizens and the cathedral chapter would have preferred the appointment of a Dominican monk, John, to the office and their sovereign, the king of Hungary, Béla IV, seems to have taken offence at not having been consulted by the papacy over Ugrin's replacement. As a result, Roger only received Béla's approval a year later, and arrived in Split with an impressive retinue in February, 1250. Thereafter, he administered the archdiocese with great energy and success—though not without some conflicts with both the city and the royal court. In his last years he was bedridden and paralyzed due to severe gout. He died on April 14, 1266 and was buried in the cathedral of St. Domnius.¹⁰

Roger's reasons for writing his report—his *causa scribendi*—were to a great extent personal. By detailing his sufferings, he wanted to move his former patron and win his support in obtaining a new appointment after the destruction of his church in Hungary. But whether the cardinal was able to help him is unknown. Second, through Bishop James he may have wanted to present himself in Rome as an expert in Mongol matters, a subject much discussed in the papal curia at the time of his arrival. The topic was on the agenda of the Council of Lyon, at which, as mentioned above, Roger was in attendance. While addressing the bishop several times in the epistle, Roger also counted on other readers, whom he wanted to “read and understand” the horrors and the lessons to

⁹ Franz Babinger, “Maestro Ruggiero della Puglie, relatore prepoliano sui Tartari,” in *Nel VII centenario della nascita di Marco Polo* (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 1955), p. 58.

¹⁰ On the details of Roger's appointment and career at Split, see Thomas of Split, pp. 358–63 and 376–9.

be learned. Finally, in discussing the internal problems of Hungary, he took—though not uncritically—the side of the king, probably hoping to obtain his support for a new position in the kingdom. (In fact, Béla IV does not seem to have objected to Roger’s appointment, but only to the pope’s disregard of his royal opinion and authority in the process.)

The epistle can be divided into two parts. The first fourteen chapters address the political situation in Hungary before the attack by the Mongols. Roger names five causes for the “enmity between the king and the Hungarians,” which, he argues, led to the failure of the resistance to the invasion. The following thirty-six chapters deal with the events of the years 1241–42, in good part (at least six long chapters) relating to the personal experiences of the author while in hiding, captivity, and flight.

The political analysis of the epistle’s first part is a rare case in a medieval narrative. It was far more common for authors to assign the cause of a defeat or other calamity to the sins and faults of the victims. Thomas of Split, though not going into theological arguments, underlined the failings of Hungary’s youth, their spending time at “effeminate frivolities,” and other such wrongs.¹¹ In a contemporary lament, an anonymous (monastic) author made explicit that God’s justice grants good to the good and avenges evil: thus, the wicked Hungarians had had to pay for their sins.¹² Roger’s arguments, on the other hand, were strictly political and attempt to find palpable causes for the events. (As to divine punishment, at the very beginning of his preface he rather “accuses” the heavenly powers of having abandoned Hungary!) He lists the invitation and presence—nay, preferment—of the Cumans, brought to the country by King Béla in 1239, as the first and fifth causes of tension.

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 254–7.

¹² *Placitus destructionis regni Ungarie per Tartaros*, ed. Ladislaus Juhász, SRH 2, 591–8, here p. 591. The letter of Emperor Frederick II to the princes of Europe (3 July 1241) reflects the same attitude, stating that the Mongol attack occurred *non absque Dei iudicio ad ... correptionem et correctionem ... Christianitatis*; see Matthew Paris, *Chronica maiora*, ed. Henry Richards Luard, Rolls Series 57, 4 vols. (London: HMSO, 1877), vol. 4, pp. 112–9, here p. 114.

Second and fourth, the “Hungarians”—i.e., the nobles, among whom Roger may have had contacts—resented not only Béla’s revenge against his former opponents, adherents of his father, King Andrew, but also the strengthening of royal authority both by prohibiting the great men (barons) from sitting in his presence and by forcing them to submit pleas to the chancellery instead of to the king personally. The third cause was Béla’s review of earlier land grants and his attempt to restore the royal domain—deeds begrudged by those who lost property and prestige as a result.

The “Cuman issue” is not an easy one. Roger does not (at least not explicitly) acknowledge that the king—for reasons other than his credible missionary zeal—might have been interested in receiving the Cuman warriors (and their retinue) in order to have a military force independent of the ever more powerful barons. The barons, however, may have been very well aware of this intention. Béla may also have realized that the archaic armed forces of the country, which were based on the service of a wide stratum of servitors and warriors attached to royal castles, were in need of reform, and that an additional host of light cavalry was necessary. In addition, the integration of newly arrived “pagans” posed a serious problem. While it is better documented during the second wave of Cuman immigration (after 1245),¹³ such integration must have been difficult from the very beginning. The appearance of a sizeable nomadic population certainly caused disruption in the sedentary life of villagers, and thus dissatisfaction among wide strata of society, including the peasantry. Roger’s location at the edge of the Hungarian Plain, where the Cumans settled (or roamed), would have allowed him to receive immediate information about such conflicts, as well as about the suspicions of the nobles at court.

Roger’s observations on the resentment of the leading men of the realm toward King Béla’s policies were well founded. The king’s revenge against the members of his father’s government is fully documented in the sources. At his coronation, not only were

¹³ See Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom*, pp. 135–9, and *passim*.

the majority of high officials removed, but most of the kindreds and families whose members had served Andrew also vanished from the leading posts (some forever, others temporarily). Based on a detailed analysis of the charter evidence on the archontology of the age, Erik Fügedi described these events as a “landslide” within the elite during the 1230s.¹⁴

The matter of royal donations and recuperations has a long history. In the beginning, due to internal struggles in the dynasty—starting with Prince Emeric against his father Béla III in the 1190s, and then the more serious conflicts between Prince Andrew and his brother King Emeric—partisans of the winning side received sizeable properties as a reward for their support. Under Andrew II, a conscious change of policy is documented. The king suggested in several charters that, in contrast to his predecessors, he intended to give away major pieces of land and their jurisdiction, including entire counties, to his “barons and knights.” Bálint Hóman saw in this a deliberate program that sought to move the foundations of royal income and power away from landed property to more “modern” sources of revenue, such as customs duties, coinage, and mining.¹⁵ To be sure, much was done to develop these resources, but clearly the project of Andrew and his counselors (who were probably led by Denis, son of Apod, the first victim of Béla’s revenge) was premature. The country’s economy had been for quite some time, and was still, primarily agrarian; monetary aspects were in the offing, but not yet prevalent by any means.

King Andrew’s *novae institutiones* (as he called them) also aimed at supplying his leading men and their kindreds with resources that would allow them to equip themselves and their retinues with knightly armor and “catch up” on the military development of other European powers. The group of magnates that accompanied Andrew on his short-lived crusade in 1217 already represented such an up-to-date force. However, their defeat in

¹⁴ Erik Fügedi, *Ispánok, bárók, kiskirályok* [*Ispáns, barons, oligarchs*] (Budapest: Magvető, 1986), pp. 69–114.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 88–90, referring to Bálint Hóman. See also Engel, *Realm*, pp. 91–93.

1241 at the hands of the swift Mongol horsemen with bow and arrow—like the defeat of Western forces by the Magyars three hundred years earlier—had shown the disadvantages of such knightly armies vis-à-vis steppe nomadic enemies.

The lesser freemen (called *servientes regis*, first mentioned in the late twelfth century) soon felt the repercussions, as they and the heads of the royal castle-districts (counties), the *ispáns*, lost out against the magnates. Andrew's response is already apparent in the Golden Bull of 1222, prohibiting the donation of whole counties and limiting dual office-holding by the officers of the court.¹⁶ The king started to revise his earlier policies, but felt the need first to ask the pope to release him of his coronation oath, in which he (apparently) promised to keep his nobles' rights untouched. The bull *Intellecto*, an important piece of canon law on the inalienability of royal property, was issued in this context.¹⁷ Andrew did not seriously pursue the recovery of royal lands and rights, but his son, Prince and then King Béla IV did. There is ample charter evidence of this process, and it is clear that it caused tension between the ruler and the aristocracy.

Similarly, King Béla's attempts at regulating judicial procedure, changing it from previous kings' personal administration of justice "sitting under the oak-tree" to impersonal written submissions, was an innovation at the expense of the freemen, who were accustomed to having immediate access to the ruler. Roger's information on this new practice taking its toll on the poorer nobles is also convincing. In fact, in 1267, at the request of the lesser nobles, King Béla IV cancelled this measure,¹⁸ although it seems to have remained in effect for some time thereafter.

¹⁶ 1222 Art. 16–17, DRMH 1, p. 33.

¹⁷ See James Ross Sweeney, "The Decretal *Intellecto* and the Hungarian Golden Bull of 1222," in *Album Elemér Mátyusz* (Brussels: Librairie Encyclopédique, 1976), pp. 89–96; for additional literature, see notes 24–25 to 1222 in DRMH 1, p. 98.

¹⁸ 1267:10, DRMH 1, p. 41.

Finally, the symbolic action of burning the chairs of the magnates in the royal council—where subsequently only the prelates and the princes (members of the dynasty?) were allowed to remain seated in the king's presence—also points to the strengthening of royal authority. It has been suggested that Béla IV tried to return to the “authoritative” rule of his grandfather, the third Béla (1172–1196), whose power was admired by Western visitors accustomed to the more “feudal” monarchies.¹⁹

Now, whether the kingdom of Hungary would have been able to resist or repel the attack of the expanding Mongol Empire without these serious internal problems is an open question. True, in their conquests the Mongols often profited from the lack of unified resistance—e.g., the Rus' principalities or the divided China—but their superior organization and almost unlimited manpower still gave them an advantage over their eastern, southern, and western neighbors that was not easy to counter. Moreover, as mentioned above, the Hungarians “forgot” the tricks of steppe-nomadic warfare utilized successfully by their own forebears and fell easily into the Mongols' traps. (On this, Roger has several examples.) However, King Béla was able to learn the lesson: in the years following the invasion, he reversed his policy of “recuperation” of royal lands and granted extensive properties to those barons who had the resources to build defendable stone castles. He also built a number of them himself, having seen that such structures had mostly withstood the Mongol attack of 1241.²⁰ Indeed, during subsequent (surely, less concentrated) Mongol forays in 1255 and later, the country suffered much less, and the enemy was repelled without great loss. Of course, the internal conditions of the Mongol Empire had much to do with the first invasion's end in a sudden withdrawal and the Mongols' marginal later incursions.

¹⁹ See, e.g., *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa by Otto of Freising and his Continuator Rahewin*, trans. and ed. Charles Christopher Mierow (New York: Norton, 1953), p. 67.

²⁰ See Erik Fügedi, *Castle and Society in Medieval Hungary*, trans. J. M. Bak (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1986), pp. 50–64.

In early 1242, Batu returned to Central Asia after the death of his uncle, Great Khan Ögödei²¹; in the subsequent decades the empire fell apart, and the Golden Horde not only had to concentrate on their domination of the Rus' principalities, but also faced internal succession troubles.

The rest of Roger's epistle is more or less a straightforward narrative of the events from the murder of the Cuman chief and subsequently his people's leaving Hungary, to the first attacks of the Mongols and their burning and killing across Hungary, to their final withdrawal. Roger must have received reports from several locations that suffered Tatar attacks, and then experienced personally the fall of Oradea, the Mongols' march across the southeastern parts of the country, and the devastation of villages and towns along their way. In addition to the knowledge gained from his own adventures, he was also informed (apparently by eyewitnesses) about the major battle at Muhi, the king's escape to Austria and then to Dalmatia, and the Mongol incursions west of the Danube. In contrast to many authors of his age, Roger's battle scenes are not borrowed from classical sources or other authorities. His detailed description of some of the encounters and of Mongol tactics used to gain the upper hand sounds very much like information told by veterans of the war and survivors of the sacked towns.

Roger's style reflects a good schooling in Latin. As he was trained in the Roman curia, he was fully familiar with the rules of rhythmic prose and applied the *cursus* throughout his text. Actually, several assumptions in respect of inauthentic insertions can be shown to be wrong by checking his *cursus*. Moreover, when reporting a "false letter" (ch. 31, p. 193) he went out of his way not to write it in his usual rhythmic prose.²² A number of biblical cita-

²¹ The reasons for the Mongols' sudden return from Hungary are debated. The traditionally accepted explanation about Batu's intention to attend the *kuriltay* which was to decide on the succession may not in fact have been the main reason; see Jackson, *The Mongols*, pp. 71–4.

²² See János Horváth, Jr., *Árpád-kori latinnyelvű irodalmunk stílusproblémái* [Stylistic questions of our Arpadian-age Latin literature] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1954),

tions betray his clerical background, the few classical quotations his education. The structure of his political analysis, discussed above, suggests a legal (or scholastic) education: he formulated the “five issues of enmity” in a charge and rebuttal style, similar to plea and counterplea in court, but also to scholastic *causa* and *responsio*. At another point, Roger displays a more typically “scholastic” approach. While describing the many corpses left by the cruelty of the Mongols, he recounted their fate by referring to the four elements: earth, fire, water, and finally air.²³ This passage is, in contrast to most of the text, not a down-to-earth description of his trials and tribulations, but a demonstration of his systematic way of thinking and writing. Yet, for the most part, Master Roger’s adjectives and adverbs aim at moving the emotions of his reader to compassion for himself and his fellow Christians on the one hand, and to condemnation of the inhumane cruelty of the pagan Mongols on the other.

It is remarkable that Roger does not waste words on describing the Mongols in any detail. In contrast to, for example, Thomas of Split—to say nothing of the travelers into Mongol lands, such as Friar Julian or John of Plano Carpini—Roger wrote little about their way of life, mode of warfare, or *mores*, despite his having had first-hand knowledge of the Mongols of Batu Khan. Nor does he say much about the Cumans, important actors in the opening of his story. Of course, the genre—a “letter of lament”—prescribed his style and the choice of his subjects. The wildness, ruthlessness, and cruelty of the pagans are repeatedly underlined, as are the sufferings of the author, for that was the purpose of writing the text. Still, Roger’s (usually second-hand) reports on military encounters are plausible, as they fit well with the strategy and tactics of the Mongols recorded elsewhere, as do the actions of the Tatars, which he personally experienced. Somewhat surprisingly, at one point the author acknowledges the efficiency of Mongol adminis-

where (on pp. 240–1) the Preface of the epistle is analyzed in detail for rhythm: almost all colons end in a *cursus velox*.

²³ Ch. 30, p. 189, below.

tration of occupied Hungary, stating that their appointed officers guaranteed peace and justice—unless there is hidden irony in this sentence.²⁴ In sum, Roger's writing, including his details of horrific massacres and the heart-rending vicissitudes of runaways (such as himself), has a uniquely "objective" tone. In a few cases—above all, those recounting the conflicts between the nobles and the king—he expressly refrained from passing judgment, even if the apologies for Béla's actions are clearly given greater emphasis in the text than the accusations against him. This is why historians not only tend to take Roger's epistle at face value, but also characterize him as an "astute" observer, and praise him for his "Italian rational, almost modern, thinking."²⁵ Discounting the few cases where his report was based on hearsay (for example, the names of the Mongol leaders, or the alleged invitation of Emperor Frederick II to the Hungarian throne²⁶), Roger's narrative indeed deserves to be accepted without much reservation.

The present edition and translation follow the general principles of the CEMT series. As mentioned above, we follow our standard practice of printing the latest critical edition of the Latin text without adding its full *apparatus criticus* of textual variants. Since no original, nor even a possible archetype, exists, the variants of the different editions have no authority, but at times the editors' corrections may represent plausible emendations.²⁷ The translation and annotations owe much to recent German and Hungarian translations (see the Bibliography).²⁸ Terminological problems, often causing difficulties in translation, were not an issue, as Roger

²⁴ Ch. 35, p. 209, below.

²⁵ See Engel, *Realm*, p. 98, and Fügedi, *Ispánok*, p. 90.

²⁶ Chapters 9 and 19, pp. 163 and 151, below.

²⁷ The Augsburg print (A), in particular, has many superior spellings and readings ("longe emendatior"—ed.). As the date of this print is only three months later than the Editio princeps, it is possible that the printers had access to the Ms. Occasionally other early editions, such as Bongars' (Frankfurt, 1600, F) have interesting variants.

²⁸ The extensive annotations of Hansgerd Göckenjan (*Mongolensturm*, pp. 187–223), comparing and augmenting Roger's text with information from other sources, is a goldmine of additional details.

attempted to reproduce titles and names as he heard them; we tried to reconstruct these as much as possible. Our principle of using contemporary place-names may be anachronistic, but it allows the reader to locate the events on a modern map, and there is also a map with the locations mentioned by Roger on the rear endpaper for orientation. For a gazetteer with the different forms of toponyms see below, pp. 263.



The Mongol Invasion
(woodcut from I. Thuróczy, *Chronica*, Brno 1488)

EPISTOLA MAGISTRI ROGERII IN MISERABILE
CARMEN SUPER DESTRUCTIONE
REGNI HUNGARIE PER TARTAROS FACTA
EDITUM AD REVERENDUM DOMINUM
IACOBUM PRENESTINE^a ECCLESIE
EPISCOPUM FELICITER INCIPIT.¹

Licet, ut liqueat dominationi vestre ingressus et processus Tartarorum² Hungariam intrantium in ignominia crucifixi, perniciem stragemque non minimam populi Christiani, presens opusculum vestro nomini reddi de gestis ipsorum sine falsitatis admixtione collectum, quod cum diligentia perlegatis. Multa quidem invenietis in eo, que meo subiacuerunt aspectui plurimaque propriis palpavi manibus nonnullaque a fide dignis didici, in quorum illa fuerunt presentia perpetrata. Si autem interdum reperietis aliqua, que sensui hominum cernantur terribilia et horrenda, me scriptorem et res minime amirentur, sed gratias referant *regi regum*,³ qui sue oblitus misericordie suo angariato populo non pepercit. Nam a regalibus sedibus in exterminii terram prosilientibus *limo eorum oculos non linivit*,⁴ imo *exacuit gladium velut fulgur*.⁵ Visitavit *iniquitates eorum* non in baculo, sed *in virga*,⁶ et *peccata* non fomentis lenibus, quibus suos consueverat consolari, sed *in verberibus* et in ira⁷ subsanando eos,

^a I. (sc. Iacobum) Penestrensis *Turchány*, Iohannem Pestheniensis *Ed.princ.*

¹ On the title and the addressee, see above p. XLII.

² Calling the Mongols “Tatars” (or Tartars) was widespread in East and West, even though the latter were a Turkic people defeated by the former and included (with many other nomadic peoples) into their empire and army, see Bezzola, Gian Andri, *Die Mongolen in abendländischer Sicht (1220–1270)*, pp. 43–107, passim (also Index s.v. Tartaros). John of Plano Carpini, writing in 1245, distinguished between the names, writing “Mongols, whom we call Tatars”; see Christopher Dawson, ed., *Mission to Asia* (Toronto: Toronto University Press/Medieval Academy of America, 1980), p. 99.

MASTER ROGER'S EPISTLE TO THE
LAMENT UPON THE DESTRUCTION
OF HUNGARY BY THE TATARS WRITTEN
TO THE REVEREND LORD JAMES, BISHOP
OF THE CHURCH OF PRENESTE¹

May it be allowed to send to you this little writing of mine in order that the entry and passage of the Tatars² to the dishonor of the Crucified and the very great destruction and harm of the Christian people may stand clearly before your lordship. I have composed it about their deeds without stating anything untruthful. May you read it carefully; for indeed, you will find in it much that happened before my own eyes, many other things that I experienced myself,³ and others I was told by trustworthy persons in whose presence they happened. But should you at times find in it such matters that appear horrendous and terrible to the human mind, you should not be astonished at me, the writer, or the events, but give thanks to the *King of Kings*,⁴ who, forgetful of His mercy, did not spare His oppressed people. For He *did not spread the clay upon the eyes*⁵ of those who hurried from their royal residences to the field of utter destruction, but *whetted His sword as the lightning*⁶ against them. He visited *their iniquities* not with a rod but *with stripes*, *their sins* not with mild solace (by which He used to console His people) but *with beatings* and anger⁷ so that Hungary, *full of people*,

³ Verbatim: 'touched with my own hands.'

⁴ 1 Tim 6.15.

⁵ John 9.6

⁶ Deut. 32.41.

⁷ Ps 88.33. Friar Julian, in his "Epistula de vita Tartarorum," in Heinrich Dörrie, ed., *Drei Texte zur Geschichte der Ungarn und Mongolen* (Göttingen: Akad. d. Wiss., 1956), pp. 165–82, here p. 181 (6, 9), referred to the Tatars by the well-known trope, *Dei flagellum*.

cum irriguit calamitas repentina¹ sic, quod Hungaria *plena populo* sedet *sola*.² O dira crudelitas! *facta est* Hungaria libera *sub tributo*.³ Proch dolor! non fuit in tanto exitio, *qui consoletur eam, ex omnibus caris eius*.⁴ Rogo igitur et affectuose depono, quatenus, cum de vita et ipsorum moribus atque pugna describere voluerim veritatem, si de tristi materia et horrenda *flebilis inire* compulsus sum *mestos modos*,⁵ vos vel quisque lector rectam conscientiam falsis opinionibus non supponant, quod presumptuosa temeritas patefecit aditum illicitis ausibus vel nocivis. Quia non ad deprehensionem cuiquam vel derogationem, sed ad instructionem id potius examinavi, ut *legentes intelligent*⁶ et intelligentes credant, credentes teneant et tenentes percipiant, quod prope sunt dies perditionis et tempora properant ad non esse. Et sciant cuncti hec me temere non referre, quod, quisquis ad manus ipsorum devenit Tartarorum, *si natus non fuisset*,⁷ melius esset ei et sentiet se non a Tartaris, sed in Tartaro⁸ detineri. Hoc refero ut expertus. Fui enim per *tempus et dimidium temporis*⁹ inter eos, in quo mori solatium extitisset, sicut supplicium fuit vita.

I. DE INTENTIONE REGIS BELE.¹⁰

Cum Bela rex Hungarie inter principes Christianos zelator catholice fidei nosceretur, ad instar progenitorum suorum Stephani, EmERICI, Ladislai, et Colomani regum, qui sanctorum cathalogo sunt

¹ Cf. Lam. 1.1.

² Here and further below, a reproach to the Christian powers for not having come to the help of Hungary is implicit. In 1250, King Béla IV spelled this out in so many words in his famous letter to Pope Innocent IV (printed inter alia in Fejér, Georgius, *Codex diplomaticus ecclesiasticus et civilis*, 43 vols. (Budae, 1829–1844), 4/2, p. 218. See also its German translation with commentary in Göckenjan, *Mongolensturm* pp. 299–310).

³ Lam. 1.1.

⁴ Ibid., 1.2. Actually, the closing sentence of this verse, *omnes amici eius spreverunt eam et facti sunt ei inimici* 'all her friends have despised her, and are become her enemies,' fits the situation exactly in respect of Duke Frederick of Austria; see below, ch. 32–3, pp. 192–7.

*sits solitary*¹ when sudden disaster struck.² Oh, what dire cruelty! Free Hungary *came to be tributary*.³ Oh, what pain! In this great disaster there was none *to comfort her among all them that were dear to her*.⁴ Therefore, I beg you and affectionately request that, while I intend to write the truth about their life, behavior and battling, if I am forced to *use a sorrowful tone*,⁵ tearfully lamenting upon this mournful and horrible matter, neither you nor any reader should falsely besmirch my clean conscience with the wrongful suggestion that I have impudently presumed to take on this enterprise for malign and unjust purposes. For I have not addressed this matter in order to denounce or dishonor anyone, but rather for the sake of instruction, *so they that read may understand*,⁶ who understand, believe, who believe observe, and who observe perceive that the days of perdition are near, and that the times are running towards the end. And all should know that I am not telling this without purpose because he who should fall into the hands of the Tatars it *were better for him not to have been born*⁷ and he will feel that he is the prisoner not of the Tatars but of Tartarus.⁸ And I say this as one who has known it. I was among them for a *time and half a time*⁹ and during that time, death would have been a solace, for life was but a torture.

1 THE INTENTION OF KING BÉLA¹⁰

Béla, king of Hungary, was known among the Christian princes as a zealot of the Catholic faith. Following the example of his predecessors, Stephen, Emeric, Ladislas, and Coloman—who are in-

⁵ Compare the opening lines of Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*.

⁶ Matth. 24.15.

⁷ Matth. 26.24.

⁸ The association of the Tatars/Tartars with the underworld (Tartarus) was widespread; see Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, vol. 4, pp. 76, 113, etc.; see also Bezzola, *Die Mongolen*, pp. 98–100.

⁹ Dan. 7.25. In fact, Roger was a captive of the Mongols for about a year.

¹⁰ Béla IV, king of Hungary, 1235–70.

ascripti,¹ inter alia pietatis opera, que ipse in propatulo ut beneficii exemplum preberet, et alia, que in conclavi, ut *ora iniqua loquentium contra eum obstrueret*,² exercebat, in mente gessit assidue pravas et extraneas nationes ad gremium ecclesie matris attrahere,³ ut animabus deo quamplurimis lucrefactis suam facilius deduceret lucrifactam ad eterna gaudia beatorum.

II. QUOMODO REX BELA INTRODUXIT REGEM COMANORUM^a IN HUNGARIAM.

Igitur anno millesimo CC Quadragesimo^b secundo⁴ ab incarnatione domini sic evenit, quod Kuthen⁵ Comanorum⁶ rex ad dictum regem solennes nuncios destinavit asserens^c se multis annis cum Tartaris pugnavisse ac obtinuisse duabus vicibus victoriam contra eos, tertia vero vice, cum existeret imparatus, terram suam subito intraverunt ita, quod ipso habere exercitum nequeunte eum dare terga oportuit Tartaris⁷ sceleratis^d et sic magnam partem terre ip-

^a Comanorum *A*, Romanorum *Ed.princ.*

^b Quadragesimo *A*, Quadrasimo *Ed.princ.*

^c asserens *A*, afferens *Ed.princ.*

^d sceleratis *S*, scleritatis *Ed.princ.*

¹ King Stephen I (1000–38) and his son, Prince Emeric (d. 1031), were canonized in 1083, King Ladislas (1077–95) in 1192. King Coloman (1095–1116), successor and nephew of Ladislas, was neither canonized nor known to have been venerated as a saint.

² Ps 62.12.

³ Pope Gregory IX had praised Prince Béla, while still *rex iunior*, for his efforts in converting the Cumans; Fejér, *Cod. Dipl.* 2/3, p. 151.

⁴ Clearly a copyist's error, for Roger knew well that the Cumans arrived two years before the Mongols, in 1239 (see below, ch. 14, p. 159). The reasons for this mistake—probably due to misreading Latin numbers—are discussed at length by the editor, Ladislaus Juhász (SRH 2, p. 553, n. 2).

⁵ Kuten (Kuthen, Köten, Kötöny) was one of the major chiefs of the Cumans, mentioned in the sources after 1220; he participated in the internal struggles of Kievan Rus', fought against the Mongols for a long time, and took part in the great battle at

scribed in the catalogue of saints¹—he, besides the acts of mercy performed in public to give example of good deeds, or in his chamber so that *the mouth be stopped of them that speak wicked things*,² ceaselessly kept in his mind how to draw faithless and foreign nations to the bosom of Mother Church,³ so that, once he had won as many souls for God as possible, his own soul might be won and admitted to the eternal bliss of the blessed.

2 HOW KING BÉLA INTRODUCED THE KING OF THE CUMANS TO HUNGARY

In the year of the Lord's Incarnation 1242,⁴ it happened that Kuten,⁵ king of the Cumans,⁶ sent solemn envoys to the said king with the message that he had fought the Tatars for many years and twice defeated them, but the third time, as he was unprepared, they suddenly broke into his land, and so—being unable to have an army—he was forced to turn his back to the cursed Tatars.⁷ They devastated most of his land by force and killed his people. There-

the River Kalka on May 31, 1223, where the troops of Rus' and the Cumans were defeated by the Mongols. Recently, an Oriental-type helmet was found in the Danube and was suggested to have belonged to Kuten or his retinue. For additional details on him, see now Szabolcs Polgár, "Kötöny, kún fejedelm" [Kötöny, Cuman prince], in *Tanulmányok a középkori magyar történelemről*, ed. S. Homonnai, F. Piti, and I. Tóth (Szeged: JATE, 1999), pp. 91–102.

⁶ The Cumans (Quipčak-Cumans, Russ.: *polovci*) were a Turkic people who in the eleventh-thirteenth century expanded their control from the River Volga and across the southern steppe all the way to the Lower Danube. First mentioned in Rus' sources in 1054, they fought both as enemies and allies of the Rus' princes and also of Byzantium. They did not establish an empire of the Mongol type, but remained a more or less loose tribal alliance; see the summary in Berend, *At the Gate*, pp. 68–73, with literature.

⁷ Mongol attacks against the Cumans began around 1222. The decisive move was decreed at the *kuriltay* (meeting of leaders) in 1235; a major defeat of the Cuman prince Bačman on the lower Volga was followed by the complete subjection of the Cumans to Batu Khan's Mongols by the end of 1238. Those unwilling to accept Mongol rule fled to the Crimea, Bulgaria and, under Kuten, to Hungary. Kuten's claim to having defeated the Mongols cannot be substantiated.

sus hominibus interemptis hostiliter destruxerunt, propter quod, si vellet ipsum suscipere ac in libertate tenere, se et suos paratus esset sibi subdere ac cum consanguineis fratribusque et amicis suis rebusque et bonis mobilibus omnibus in Hungariam intrare et ipsum in fide katholica imitari. Quo audito rex repletus est *gaudio magno valde*¹ tum pro eo, quod talis princeps sibi quasi par² hactenus sue se volebat subicere ditioni, tum, quia poterat ad effectum ducere preconcepta lucrificando tot animas Iesu Christo, et sic licenciatis nunciis non minimis muneribus honoratis ad dictum Kuthen regem transmisit suos nuncios et fratres predicatorum³ cum eisdem mandans, quod ipsum et suos paratus esset recipere et petita concedere iuxta sue beneplacitum voluntatis.⁴ Quid plura? Nunciis hinc inde sepius destinatis predictus Kuthen cum suis iter arripuit in Hungariam veniendi. Rex vero in potentatu mirabili usque ad confinium terre sue obuius sibi fuit⁵ tot eximia et tot honores sibi et suis faciens, quod ab incolis terre illius a tempore, cuius non extabat memoria, factum non fuerat neque visum.⁶ Tandem, cum propter multitudinem in loco comode morari non possent, pro eo, quod erat gens dura et aspera subdi nescia, ne offenderent

¹ Matth. 2,10.

² There is no explicit evidence for Kuten's or any other Cuman leader's having been regarded as equal to the king of Hungary, rather an informal dependence seems to have been established when Prince Béla became the godfather of the Cuman chief Barc and his retinue in 1227. In 1229, Béla had Cuman troops in his army and after 1235 inserted *rex Cumanorum* into his royal style. The significance of royal sponsorship of baptism has been extensively discussed (mainly for the early Middle Ages) by Arnold Angenendt, *Kaiserherrschaft und Königstaufe. Kaiser, Könige und Päpste als geistliche Patrone in der abendländischen Missionsgeschichte* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1984).

³ Dominican missionaries were active in the region beyond the Carpathian Mountains (called 'Cumania') from the 1220s; see Nicolas Pfeiffer, *Die Ungarische Dominikanerprovinz von ihrer Gründung bis zur Tatarenwüstung 1241–42* (Zürich: Leemann, 1913). According to the Heiligenkreuz annalist, Béla received the Cumans on the suggestion of the Dominicans, against the counsel of his lords; see *Continuatio Sancti Crucis II*, ed. Heinrich Pertz, MGH SS 9 (Hanover: Hahn, 1851), p. 640.

⁴ The acceptance, nay invitation, of foreign 'guests' (*hospites*) was a centuries-old tradition in the medieval Hungarian kingdom. Chapter 6 of the oldest political text written in Hungary, the so-called Admonitions of St Stephen, underlines the weak-

fore, if he was willing to receive him and keep him in liberty, he was ready to submit himself and his people, come with his relatives, kinsmen and friends together with all their wealth and chattels to Hungary, and follow him in the Catholic faith. Hearing this, the king was filled with *exceeding great joy*,¹ partly because a prince who hitherto was as equal to him² was prepared to submit to his power and partly because he was thus able to fulfill his plan of winning so many souls for Jesus Christ. So he released the envoys, having honored them with substantial gifts, and sent his own envoys and Dominican friars³ to the said King Kuten, with the message that he was ready to receive him and his people and grant him all that he requested.⁴ What more? After several exchanges of envoys from both parties, the aforesaid Kuten set out with his people to come to Hungary. The king went to meet him at the border of his country with wondrous display of might,⁵ and granted him and his people such exceptional honors as the inhabitants of the land had neither done nor seen since times beyond memory.⁶ Then, as on account of their great number they could not comfortably stay at that place, he deputized one of his great men to lead

ness of a "country of one language and one set of customs (*mores*)" (see SRH, vol. 2, pp. 624–5, and Jenő Szűcs, "King Stephen's exhortations and his state," *The New Hungarian Quarterly* 112 (1988), pp. 89–97, with English trans. pp. 98–100). Generally in this context, see Erik Fügedi, "Das mittelalterliche Ungarn als Gastland," now in Idem, *Kings, Bishops, Nobles, and Burghers in Medieval Hungary* (London: Variorum, 1986), ch. VIII.

⁵ The form and location (distance from the residence of the host) of the reception of a dignitary was a highly important symbolic gesture during the Middle Ages; see, e.g. Gerrit Jasper Schenk, *Zeremoniell und Politik. Herrschereinzüge im spätmittelalterlichen Reich*, Forschungen zur Kaiser- und Papstgeschichte des Mittelalter, 21 (Cologne &c: Böhlau, 2003). According to the (admittedly dated and fragmentary) royal itinerary of Károly Ráth, *A magyar királyok és erdélyi fejedelmek hadjárati, utazásai és tartózkodási helyei* [Campaigns, travels and residences of the kings of Hungary and princes of Transylvania] (Győr: Sauerwein, 1866), p. 16, Béla IV was in Transylvania in February 1238 to meet Kuten, but no authentic charter issued by the king in the relevant years in that region is known.

⁶ There is no surviving record of the arrangements with the Cumans in 1239–41. Their legal status was defined after their return in the later 1240s; see Berend, *At the Gate*, pp. 85–95.

Hungaros vel offenderentur ab ipsis, dabat eis de principibus suis unum, qui eos conduceret et expensas omnibus, qui preter ipsorum familias circa quadraginta milia¹ dicebantur, faceret exhiberi usque ad mediculum terre sue.

III. SEQUITUR DE ODIIS INTER REGEM ET HUNGAROS ET PRIMO DE CAUSA ODII PRIMA.

Cum autem rex Comanorum cum suis nobilibus et rusticis² cepit Hungariam peragraré, quia iumentorum habebant armenta infinita, in pascuis, segetibus, ortis, virgultis, vineis et aliis Hungaros graviter offendeabant. Et, quod horribilius erat eis, cum essent silvestres homines, virgines pauperum abhominabiliter opprimebant et thorum potentium, quando comode fieri poterat, maculabant, licet mulieres ipsorum tanquam viles ab Hungaris prostrarentur. Et, si in rebus vel in persona Comanum Hungarus offendeabat, statim de ipso fiebat iustitie complementum sic, quod alius similia facere non audebat. Si vero a Comano Hungarus ledebatur, sibi de ipso iustitia non fiebat et, si quando instare volebat, pro verbis interdum verbera reportabat. Et sic inter populares et regem odium est generatum.

¹ Although this is the only figure mentioned about the number of Cumans, Roger's—vague, as he admits himself—information seems to be an overstatement and was probably used to indicate a very large multitude (the numbers 40 or 80 thousand were widely used by Antique authors for barbarian hordes; see, e.g., Berend, *At the Gate*, p. 71, n. 114). Estimates based on the Cuman population that returned to Hungary after the Mongols had left (summarized in Berend, *At the Gate*, pp. 71–3)

them into the middle of the country and cover the expenses of all of them (they were said to be, without servants, some forty thousand¹), so that they should not injure the Hungarians nor be injured by them, for they were a tough and wild people and not used to subordination.

3 HERE FOLLOWS ABOUT THE ENMITY BETWEEN THE KING AND THE HUNGARIANS; AND, TO BEGIN WITH, THE FIRST REASON FOR THE ENMITY

When the king of the Cumans with his nobles and commoners² began to roam around Hungary, they caused severe damage to the pastures, crops, gardens, orchards, copses, vineyards and other goods of the Hungarians, as they had an enormous amount of cattle. And what was even more horrible, they—for they were wild people—inhumanly raped the virgins of the poor and defiled the bed of the powerful, whenever they had a chance. True, their women were bedded by the Hungarians as if they were worthless. Should a Hungarian offend a Cuman, either in his person or goods, justice was rendered to the Cuman right away, so that no one would dare to commit anything similar. But should a Cuman harm a Hungarian, the Hungarian was not rendered justice, and if he dared to pursue the matter, he might get lashes for his words. Thus enmity emerged between the people and the king.

cannot be adduced for 1239, as we do not know how many of the original refugees later returned.

² Both written and archaeological evidence (burial sites) suggest the existence of a higher stratum among the Cumans (princes, heads of kindreds and major families) with a sizeable common free population and a great number of slaves, mainly captives.

IV. SECUNDA ODII CAUSA INTER REGEM BELAM ET HUNGAROS.

Licet digressionem faciam aliquam, tamen, ut *legentes intelligent*¹ et audientes non ignorent destructionis Hungarie fundamentum, revertar quantocius ad stilum incepte materie proseguendum. Bone memorie rege Andrea² genitore istius Bele Regis mortis debitum^a persolvente subito rex cum regni principibus et nobilibus venit Albam Regiam civitatem et ibi postquam^b per manus Strigoniensis archiepiscopi, prout moris est,³ regali diademate extitit coronatus, quosdam de suis baronibus,⁴ qui patri adhererant contra eum, compulit exulare, quosdam carcerali custodie,⁵ quos habere potuit, mancipavit, quendam de maioribus Dionisium palatinum privari fecit lumine oculorum.⁶ Quedam autem statuta ibidem faciens iussit provulgari, ut terra malis hominibus, qui habundabant plurimum, expurgaretur, baronum presumptuosam audaciam reprimendo precipiens, quod, exceptis suis principibus,⁷ archiepiscopis et episcopis si aliquis baronum sedere in sede aliqua in sua presentia auderet, debita pena plecteretur, comburri faciens ibidem ipsorum sedes, quas potuit invenire.⁸ Quod cognati exulum et captivorum amici sibi etiam timentes in posterum pro malo non modico habuerunt. Exinde inter eos scandalum est ortum.

^a debitum *A*, debito *Ed.princ.*

^b postquam *A*, om. *Ed.princ.*

¹ Matth. 24.15

² Andrew II, king of Hungary 1204–35.

³ The holding of coronations in Alba Regia (Fehérvár, Székesfehérvár, Stuhlweissenburg) and the right of the archbishop of Esztergom, primate of Hungary, to act as *coronator* seems to have been a tradition ever since the beginnings of the kingdom. King Béla was crowned by Archbishop Robert on October 14, 1235.

⁴ The expression *barones* for the most powerful men in the king's surroundings or entourage replaced earlier terms around the mid-thirteenth century; it became a more technical term for a circumscribed group of aristocrats only later. The aristocrats removed from power by King Béla are listed in SRH vol. 2, p. 555, n. 3.

⁵ Gyula *de genere* ('of the kindred'; henceforth, d.g.) Kán, bearer of several high positions at court (inter alia, palatine 1215–6 and 1222–6), was among those incarcer-

4 THE SECOND REASON FOR ENMITY BETWEEN KING BÉLA AND THE HUNGARIANS.

Even if I detour a little, I do it, *so they that read may understand*¹ and those who hear it, comprehend the basic reason for the destruction of Hungary; I will quickly return to continue with the matter at hand. When the father of this King Béla, King Andrew of blessed memory,² paid his debt to death, the king went immediately to the city of Székesfehérvár with the princes and nobles of the realm, and once the archbishop of Esztergom had crowned him with the royal crown—as is the custom³—he exiled some of those barons⁴ who had stood against him on his father's side; others, whom he could, he put in jail.⁵ One of the major dignitaries, Palatine Denis,⁶ was deprived of his eyes. At the same place, he issued certain decrees and ordered it to be announced that the land had to be cleansed of evil men, of whom there were a great many. In order to repress the bold temerity of the barons, he commanded that if any of the barons—except his princes,⁷ archbishops and bishops—should dare to sit in his presence, he would be punished by due penalty. At the same time, he had the chairs of the barons burned, insofar as he could find them.⁸ The relatives of the exiles and the friends of the incarcerated took this badly, fearing for their own future. Hence a stumbling block arose between them.

ated, later dying in prison. King Béla is supposed to have meted out punishments especially to those who were suspected of having had a part in the murder of his mother, Gertrudis (1213), but who had remained in his father's service even thereafter.

⁶ Denis son of Apod/Ampod, was a close supporter of King Andrew and count palatine 1227–9 and 1231–4.

⁷ The term *principes* may stand here either for members of the royal family or for the great men of the realm.

⁸ In the mid-twelfth century, Otto of Freising wrote of the Hungarian leaders (*primores*) that “they come together at the court of their king, each of them bringing his chair (*sella*) with him to discuss matters of state.” (*The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, pp. 66–7). True, he went on to speak of the undisputed power of the king, but the “private chairs” are mentioned rather in the context of the Hungarians’ primitive housing conditions, and thus without any “political” implication. At any rate, it appears that by the time of Béla IV the practice of the barons to sit in the royal presence was perceived as too “egalitarian.”

V. TERTIA ODII CAUSA EXHINE SECUTA EST.

Preterea nobiles cum cordis amaritudine referebant, quod cum ipsi vel progenitores eorum contra Ruthenos, Comanos, Polonos et alios in expeditionem a regibus sepius essent destinati et aliqui essent ibidem gladio interempti, aliqui fame mortui, aliqui carceribus mancipati et aliqui diversis tormentis afflicti, reges, qui pro tempore fuerant, revertentibus vel captivorum propinquis in recompensationem et remunerationem congruam faciebant villas, possessiones et predia concedendo eis imperpetuum possidenda.¹ Hic autem non solum eis non addidit aliquid, sed concessa ad ius et proprietatem suiipsius sine diminutione aliqua revocavit.² Hic est dolor, hic est gladius, qui transfixit animas Hungarorum.³ Nam, qui erant divites et potentes et secum habebant multitudinem effrenatam, vix se solos poterant sustentare.

VI. QUARTA ODII CAUSA INTER
REGEM BELAM ET HUNGAROS.

Item sepius conquerebantur, quod rex contra regni consuetudinem in depressionem eorum, prout voluit, ordinavit, quod, qualiscunque eminentie fuerint nobiles, in sua curia negotium movere aut sibi horetenus loqui nequirent, nisi supplicationes cancellariis porrigerent et exinde finem negotii expectarent.⁴ Propter quod ple-

¹ In the medieval kingdom, royal grants of landed estates were always based on past service and loyalty (*fidelitas*), often with the clause “in order to encourage further faithful acts,” but not with any explicit obligation in return, in contrast to the “feudal” type of grants typical in most of the rest of Europe. See Martyn Rady, *Nobility, Land, and Service in Medieval Hungary* (Basington: Palgrave, 2000), pp. 179–82.

² On the issue of donation and recovery, see above, pp. XLVII–XLVIII.

³ We suspect that the metaphor of *dolor* and *gladius* comes from some legal text, as it shows up—almost 300 years later!—in Stephen Werbőczy’s law book, the *Tripartitum* (III, 83; DRMH 5, pp. 368–9). However, we have been unable to find its source. *Anyone pointing it out to us receives a book as a reward!*

5 THE THIRD REASON OF ENMITY FOLLOWED FROM THIS.

Then, the nobles recounted with bitter heart that in the past, when they or their ancestors were sent oftentimes by the kings to campaigns against the Russians, Cumans, Poles and others, and some perished by the sword, some died of hunger, some were thrown in jail, and others subjected to various tortures, the kings who lived then granted those who returned, or the relatives of those captured, villages, estates and properties in perpetuity as suitable reward and recompense.¹ This one, however, not only failed to give them anything, but revoked into his own right and property estates already granted, without legal judgment.² This is the pain, this is the sword that pierced the hearts of the Hungarians.³ Those, namely, who were rich and powerful and had an importunate entourage, could barely maintain even themselves.

6 THE FOURTH REASON OF ENMITY BETWEEN KING BÉLA AND THE HUNGARIANS

They often complained that the king ordered of his own will, in contrast to the custom of the realm and to their disadvantage, that nobles, however high ranking, could not open their suits in his court and speak to him personally, but had to submit petitions to the chancellors and expect judgment in their cases from them.⁴ Be-

⁴ Even though the Hungarian chronicle tradition (see, e.g., Simon of Kéza, pp. 144–5) credited the introduction of written petitions on the papal and imperial model to King Béla III (1172–96), Roger's information is more credible and fits larger European patterns; see György Györffy, "A magyar krónikák adatai a III. Béla-kori petícióról" [The evidence of the chronicles about petitions under King Béla III], in *Középkori kútfontok kritikus kérdései* [Critical issues regarding our medieval sources], ed. János Horváth and György Székely (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1967), pp. 333–8. Györffy, *ibid.*, p. 337 demonstrated that the practice did not stop with its formal abrogation in 1267. The earliest authentic mention of a royal chancellor is from 1186. Roger's plural may include the vice-chancellor (documented since 1209 as another officer of the court).

rique pro minimo tantum in curia tenebantur, quod equos et res alias pro expensis expendere cogebantur et multotiens non expeditis negotiis recedebant. Nam cancellarii, ut dicebant, pro eo, quod nisi per ipsos requisitos regi loqui poterant, deprimebant et sublevabant aliquos, ut volebant, propter quod illos suos reges esse generaliter et publice fatebantur et regem alium non habere se dicebant.

VII. QUINTA ODII CAUSA EXHINC ORTA EST.

Hoc aliud referebant, quod preter vel contra eorum consilium et ad depressionem et confusionem eorum Comanos adduxerat, quod patebat ex eo, quia quando ipsi vocati vel non vocati ad curiam accedebant, copiam videndi regem non habebant nisi a remotis et illi solum per interpretem loqui habebant facultatem et, si minimus Comanus accederet, statim patebat aditus, intrabat et Comanus tam in sessionibus et in consiliis et in omnibus Hungaris preferabatur, propter quod tanta indignatio erat eis, quod vix poterant tollere, et licet non exprimerent, ad ipsum tamen bonum cor et animum non habebant nec pro ipso pacis consilia cogitabant.

VIII. RESPONSIO AD PRIMAM ODII CAUSAM.

Fautores autem et faventes regi iustificare ipsum in omnibus nitebantur sic ad premissorum singula respondentes. Comanis introductis cum per fide dignos ad regis notitiam pervenisset, quod per Comanos Hungari graverentur, principibus, baronibus, comitibus¹ et Comanis omnibus circa monasterium de Kew circa Ticiam² convocatis deliberatione diligenti, communi consilio est sanctitum, quod

¹ *Ispán* (*comes*) was the royal officer in charge of a county or other unit of the royal domain. Later, the term was used not only for actual officeholders but also in a wider sense for members of the social stratum whence these officers were selected.

² The abbey at Kő, founded in the 1130s by Ban Belus and hence called Bánmonostor (now Banoštor in Serbia), was a monastery on the Danube in County Szerém, and one of the seats of the bishops of Sirmium. Roger mistakenly locates it by the river Tisza.

cause of this, many of them were forced to stay so long at court for the pettiest case that they had to sell their horses and other chattels to cover their expenses, and then often left without their case being settled. They maintained that the chancellors cast down some and raised up others at their whim, since they could not talk to the king without asking them. Thus it was generally and openly asserted that these were their kings and they said that they had no other king.

7 THE ORIGIN OF THE FIFTH CAUSE OF ENMITY

They also spoke of another matter, namely that the Cumans were brought in without, or rather against, their counsel to oppress and confound them. This was evident from the fact that when they came, invited or otherwise, to the king's court, they had no chance to see the king, but could speak to him only at a distance, through intermediaries, but when the least of the Cumans went there, the door was open to him right away to enter, and the king gave precedence to the Cumans over the Hungarians in meetings, in council, and in everything else. Because of this, there was such a great indignation in them that they could scarcely bear it and, even though they did not express it, their hearts and minds were not favorable to him and they did not consider counsels of peace towards him.

8 RESPONSE TO THE FIRST REASON OF ENMITY

The king's supporters and those favoring the king, who tried to justify him in every respect, responded to these as follows. After the arrival of the Cumans, when the king was informed by trustworthy men that the Hungarians suffered injuries because of the Cumans, the king called his dignitaries, barons, *ispáns*,¹ and all the Cumans together to the monastery of Kő near the River Tisza.² There, with wise counsel and by common decision, they sanctioned that the

nobiles Comanorum cum suis famulis divisim per singulas Hungarie provincias mitterentur et moram quilibet in provincia traheret sibi assignata et ita, cum multi simul non essent, gravamen inferre Hungaris non valerent et, si Comanus Hungariam vel Hungarus Comanum offenderet, comites, quibus hoc sub pena gratie regis iniunctum fuerat, iustitiam facerent equivalentem, licet Comanis hoc, quod separari^a deberent, plurimum displiceret. Et sic ipsi postea sine offensione cuiusquam cum suis tentoriis filtreis, iumentis, pecoribus terram vacuam Hungarie peragrabant et, cum essent multi et pauperes inter eos, habebant Hungari de eis quasi pro nihilo servientes et sic status eorum magis ad comodum, quam incomodum erat eis. Cessare igitur debebat in hoc malivolentia populorum.

IX. RESPONSIO AD SECUNDAM ODII CAUSAM.

Si rex mortuo genitore suscipiens gubernacula regni sui quosdem de maioribus fecit questionibus subici et tormentis, sane mentis non debet aliquis ammirari, nam iidem inter ipsum regem et patrem suum sepius seditionem et scandalum procuraverunt ita, quod hincinde sepius militia congregata dimicare ad invicem voluerunt, nisi per tenentes medium inter eos essent pacis federa reformata. Cum et ipse rex ad patris curiam accedebat, iidem in nullo sibi penitus deferebant, immo dehonestare ipsum verbis et factis, in quantum poterant, nitebantur, quod celari non potest.¹ Et contra vitam patris et filiorum² nequiter conspiraverant, ut illis gladio interemptis facilius quilibet posset de Hungaria, quam sibi per partes diviserant, portionem sibi debitam sine conditione cuiuslibet obtinere et, cum concepta nequirent effectui mancipare, aliud

^a separari *A*, separare *Ed.princ.*

¹ Prince Béla governed 1220–6 Slavonia and 1226–35 Transylvania, where he had his own court. Conflicts between father and son originated mainly in Béla's insistence on restoring the royal domain, while Andrew, in spite of promises to do so, frequently returned to his earlier "magnanimity" (alias, profligacy). Actually, Béla was crowned king by his father in 1214 in response to an attempt by some lords to raise him to the throne against his father after the assassination of Queen Gertrudis in 1213.

Cuman nobles, together with their retinues, should be distributed among the various provinces of Hungary and should stay in that province assigned to them; thus, not being many in one group, they would cause no harm to the Hungarians. Should a Cuman injure a Hungarian or a Hungarian a Cuman, the *ispáns* should administer equal justice as they were enjoined, under the penalty of losing the king's favor. The Cumans [accepted this, although they] did not at all like to be separated from each other. So thereafter they roamed the uninhabited parts of Hungary with their felt tents, herds and flocks. And since many of them were poor, the Hungarians could get servants almost for nothing from their midst. Thus, the condition of the Cumans was more an advantage than a disadvantage to them. Hence the ill will of the people should have ceased.

9 RESPONSE TO THE SECOND REASON OF ENMITY

Nobody with a sane mind should be surprised that the king, after his father's death, when he took over the governance of the realm, had some of the great men subjected to investigation and torture, since these had frequently caused sedition and scandal between this king and his father, so that—gathering armies on both sides—they were often close to fighting each other had not those in the middle arranged peace between them. It cannot be denied that, whenever the king went to the court of his father, they did not honor him at all but attempted to dishonor him by word and deed as much as possible.¹ Then they conspired maliciously against the life of the father and his sons² in the hope that by killing them by the sword they could easily acquire their share of Hungary—which they had divided among themselves—without anyone else imposing conditions. And, when they could not fulfill their plan, they devised something even worse. They sent a letter with specific

² King Andrew II had three sons: Béla (born ca. 1206); Coloman (1208–41), who was twice ruler of Halich 1214–21 and from 1226 duke of Slavonia (see also below, ch. 28 pp. 182–85); and Andrew (ca. 1210–34). After King Andrew's death, his last wife bore a fourth son, Stephen (1236–72), father of the later King Andrew III.

nequius cogitarunt. Duci Austrie¹ litteras cum certis pactis et conditionibus destinando domino Frederico Romanorum imperatori² coronam regni et Hungariam dare promittebant, sed nuncius in via captus regi fuit cum litteris presentatus, unde conservando ipsos ad vitam misericordia, que superexaltat iudicium, usus est contra eos. Si vero statuit, quod terra malis hominibus purgaretur, quam iniquitatem continet hoc statutum? Si sedes baronum cremari fecerit, que iniquitas fuit ista? nunquid debent domini subditis esse pares? Igitur non erant iusti Hungari in hac parte.

X. RESPONSIO AD TERTIAM ODII CAUSAM.

De tertia causa odii regem taliter excusabant. Est omnibus non ignotum, quod LXX duos habet Hungaria comitatus; hos reges Hungarie bene meritis conferebant et auferebantur^a sine iniuria possidentis. Ex his comitatibus habebant delicias, divitas et honores, potentiam, altitudinem et munimen. sed per prodigalitem quorundem progenitorum suorum iura comitatuum erant adeo diminuta, ut meritis et immeritis personarum non discussis^b eisdem possessiones, villas et predia ad comitatus pertinentia in perpetuum contulerant,³ ex quo viros comites non habebant et, cum incedebant, simplices milites propter diminutionem comitatuum putabantur. Qui autem potentiores erant, sicut thavarnicorum, qui et camerarius dicitur, ac dapiferorum, pincernarum necnon agazonum magistri et ceteri, qui habebant in curia dignitates, exinde in tantum incrassati erant, quod reges pro nihilo reputabant.⁴ Hic autem⁵ cupiens reintegrare coronam, que pene parve potentie facta

^a auferebatur *Ed.princ.*, auferebant *A*

^b discussis *A*, discusset *Ed.princ.*

¹ Frederick II "the Quarrelsome" of the Babenberg dynasty, duke of Austria 1230–46.

² Frederick II Hohenstaufen, emperor 1220–50. The two Fredericks seem to have been mixed up by our author. Actually, there is no other evidence for this conspiracy and letter; Roger may have included the story on the basis of unconfirmed rumors.

³ While the Latin is unclear, this seems to be the sense of the sentence. See above, notes 1–2, p. 144.

contractual conditions to the duke of Austria¹ and promised in it to hand over the crown of the realm and Hungary to Frederick, the Roman emperor.² But the messenger was captured on his way and presented to the king together with the letter. That he left these traitors alive was an act of mercy, which makes the judgment most praiseworthy. He ordered that the land be cleansed of evil men, but is that unfair? He burned the baron's chairs, but what kind of unfairness was that? Should lords and subjects be equal? Thus, the Hungarians were not just in their claim.

10 RESPONSE TO THE THIRD REASON OF ENMITY

Regarding the third cause of enmity, they excused the king thus. Everyone knows that Hungary has seventy-two counties. The kings of Hungary granted these to meritorious persons and they could be revoked without offending those who held them. Their luxury, wealth and income, power, rank and security came from these counties. However, because of the profligacy of some of his predecessors, their rights over the counties had been diminished to a great extent, since they had granted in perpetuity properties, villages, and estates belonging to the counties to deserving and undeserving persons alike.³ Therefore, because of the diminution of the counties the *ispáns* had no men, and when they marched out, they were taken for simple knights. Those, however, who were more powerful, such as the master of the treasurers, also called the chamberlain, the masters of the table, of the butlers, of the horse, and other officers of the court became so fattened that they disregarded the kings.⁴ This one,⁵ however, as he wished to restore the power

⁴ These officers became regular dignities of the court in the early thirteenth century. The master of the treasurers was initially in charge of the supplies of the court, but with time became ever more engaged in the administration of justice so that he gradually lost all economic functions. The other masters were also major dignitaries (barons), clearly established on the model of other royal courts; it is not known whether they still performed specific duties at the table or in the stables.

⁵ I.e., Béla IV.

erat, licet plurimis displiceret, male tamen alienata studuit revocare ad ius et proprietatem comitatum tam a sibi contrariis, quam a suis. Licet non faciendo iniuriam alicui iure suo in omnibus uteretur, tamen de regalibus bonis bene ac fideliter servientibus remunerationem congruam faciebat^a,¹ unde, quia usus fuit iure suo, cessare debebat malivolentia Hungarorum.

XI. RESPONSIO AD QUARTAM ODII CAUSAM.

Cum esset propter diversitates multiplices et ritus diversos pene totum regnum Hungarie deformatum et rex ad reformationem eius totis viribus anhelaret et implicitus rebus arduis nequiret singulis audientiam benivolam exhibere, duxit deliberatione provida statuendum, quod negotia suorum regnicolarum deberent ad instar Romane curie per petitiones in sua curia expediri, suis cancellariis ita mandans, quod per se levia et simplicia negotia expedirent, quantocius possent, ad suum auditorium ardua et gravia perferentes^b. Hoc ideo faciebat, ut negotia finem debitum velociter sortirentur. Sed malivoli, quod ad levamen oppressorum fuerat adinventum, ad iniquum compendium retorquentes nodum in stupa et pilum in ovo invenire² mendaciter satagebant.

^a faciebat *F*, favebat *Ed.princ.*

^b perferentes *F*, preferentes *Ed.princ.*

of the crown that had become almost insignificant, attempted to reclaim wrongfully alienated properties from both his opponents and his adherents and restore them to the jurisdiction of the counties, although this displeased a great many. Although he did not do anything unlawful and always acted within his right, yet he granted appropriate rewards from the royal possessions to those who served him well and faithfully;¹ so, because he acted according to his right, the malice of the Hungarians should have ceased.

11 RESPONSE TO THE FOURTH REASON OF ENMITY

Because of the many differences and various practices, the entire Hungary was deformed and the king wished to reform matters by all means. Thus, unable to offer benevolent audience to every person, he decided after mature deliberation to have the affairs of the inhabitants of the realm handled through petitions in his court, following the example of the Roman Curia. He instructed his chancellors to settle simple and minor matters by themselves, as fast as possible, and present to him for deliberation only the important and difficult cases. He did so in order to have cases quickly and properly settled. But evil-minded people turned to evil what was invented for the good of the oppressed and mendaciously tried to find a knot on a rush and a hair in an egg.²

¹ The contradiction implied in the Latin leaves the sense unclear.

² These expressions seems to be proverbial, although in the first instance *stupa* is not quite the right word, meaning the straw of flax; in Classical Latin (e.g., Terence) we find ... *nodum in scirpo* ('... on a rush'). The second one is unusual, occurring only in two papal letters (Clement IV to King Louis IX of France, 8 May 1265, and Clement V to King Philip of France, 18 Oct. 1309) and mentioned as "commonly said" in an eighteenth-century book, Ignatius Hyacinthus Amat De Graveson's *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. J. D. Mansi (Venice: Remondini, 1714), p. 52. The Hungarian poet, András Dugonics, listed it in his collection of proverbs, *Magyar példa beszédek &c.* (Szeged: Grün, 1820), p. 146, but, as he notes in n.1, he may have re-translated it from Roger.

XII. RESPONSIO AD QUINTAM ODII CAUSAM.

Illud asserebant penitus falsum, quod rex introduxisset Comanos ad depressionem et odium Hungarorum, sed solum propter hoc, ut cultus divini nominis in Hungaria suis temporibus augetur et sic, quando ipsum adversus inimicos corone¹ guerram habere contingeret, contra eos cum eis fortius et durius dimicaret. Si autem Comanos plus, quam Hungaros honorabat, hoc ipsi egre ferre non poterant nec debebant. Nam decebat^a regiam dignitatem introductos hospites honorare, maxime^{b, 2} cum hoc eis promiserit iuramento et ipsum in fide sua ceperint imitari et, cum essent eis Hungari odiosi, solum regem habebant in Hungaria protectorem. Nam Kuthen rex Comanorum per regem et quam plures alii per maiores et nobiles regni fuerant baptizati ita, quod iam cum Hungaris connubia contrahebant, et, si rex eis favorabilis non fuisset, ipsi in Hungaria non stetissent. Auditis autem hincinde propositis scriptor finem huius negotii non imponit; lector, si valeat, causam terminet iustitia mediante.

XIII. INTERLOQUIUM AD
CONTINUANDAM NARRATIONEM.

His interpositionibus expeditis scriptor stilum dirigit ad tractandum incepte materie prosecutionem. Et, si qui ipsum lingua mordere voluerint toxicata dicentes, quod interpositiones huiusmodi nil ad rem pertinerent et bene poterat esse sine illis, non est verum, quia hec discordia potissimus fomes fuit, quare Hungaria sic velociter est destructa.

^a decebat *A*, dicebat *Ed.princ.*

^b honorare maxime, cum *interpungit. Ed.princ.*

12 RESPONSE TO THE FIFTH REASON OF ENMITY

Their allegation that the king brought in the Cumans to oppress the Hungarians and out of hatred for them is entirely false. He did so purely in order that devotion to the name of God might increase in Hungary in his time and so, if it should happen that he had to wage war against the enemies of the crown,¹ he would be able to fight with greater force and more vigorously with their help. And if he kept the Cumans in greater honor than the Hungarians, they could and should not have taken that badly. For it is appropriate to the royal dignity to honor guests,² particularly as he had promised this to them by oath, for they were to follow him in faith. Because the Hungarians hated them, only the king was their protector in Hungary. Kuten, the king of the Cumans, was baptized by the king and many others by the great men and the nobles of the realm, so that they entered marriages with Hungarians. Had the king not favored them, they would not have stayed in Hungary. Having listened to what the one side and the other said, the author reserves judgment; the reader may, if able, decide with the help of justice.

13 INTERJECTION BEFORE THE
CONTINUING THE STORY

The author, having finished these interlocutory sections, directs his pen now to the further pursuit of the subject started. And if any persons want to bite him with poisonous tongue, saying that such interjections do not belong to the subject matter and it were better without it, this is not true, because these enmities were the tinder wood for the fast destruction of Hungary.

¹ The 'crown' may mean here both the royal dignity in part, and the kingdom in general. The king may have wanted to have a reliable armed force independent from the barons.

² See above, n. 4, p. 138–9.

XIV. DE WULGARI HUNGARORUM OPINIONE.

Anno igitur domini evoluto Hungaria ad regem in malivolentia existente circa nativitatem domini¹ fama fuit, quod confinia Hungarie Ruscie continua Tartari devastabant.² Et, quia rex de hoc per suos nuncios certus erat, ad custodiendum portam Ruscie que Montana³ dicitur, per quam in Hungariam patebat aditus, misit maiorem suum comitem cum exercitu palatinum⁴ et fecit per totam Hungariam proclamari, quod tam nobiles, quam qui servientes regis dicuntur, quam castrenses et pertinentes ad castra superius nominata⁵ se ad exercitum prepararent, ut essent, quando rex mitteret, preparati. Cum autem hoc per totam Hungariam clamaretur, Hungari pre nimio gaudio⁶ non credebant asserentes, quod de Tartaris multotiens insonuerat talis rumor et sic semper viderant illum esse nullum, unde dicebant : *Multa renascentur, que iam cecidere.*⁷ Alii asserebant, quod quidam^a de prelati ecclesiarum rumores huiusmodi procurabant pro eo, quod tunc tempore Romam non irent ad concilium vocati a Romano pontifice celebrandum.⁸ Et talis opinio erat eis. Fuit tamen omnibus manifestum, quod Ugolinus Colocensis⁹ archiepiscopus pro se ac quibusdem suffraganeis suis Venecias miserat pro galeis et fuerunt per regem contra voluntatem eorum ab itinere revocati. Alii vero quamplurimi fatebantur, ut haberent de rege materiam obloquendi, quod Comani societatem

^a quidam *A*, quidem *Ed.princ.*

¹ Christmas, 1240.

² The Mongols under Batu had taken Kiev on 6 December 1240 and gained control over most of Halich.

³ Count Palatine Denis d.g. Tomaj (who fell in the battle of Muhi). His kindred claimed descent from the Pecheneg chief, Thonuzoba, who moved to Hungary in the tenth century.

⁴ Most likely the Verecke Pass (now Vorota, Ukraine) in the northeastern Carpathians.

⁵ The groups of warriors referred to here consisted of the troops of the major lords (who alone at that time were called *nobiles*); the free royal servitors who were obliged to fight under the king's banner personally; and those semi-free men who were

14 THE COMMON OPINION OF THE HUNGARIANS

After the passing of one year of the Lord, when Hungary was so malignant towards the king, around the feast of the birth of the Lord,¹ news came that the Tatars were devastating the confines of Hungary adjacent to Rus'.² When this was confirmed to the king by messengers, he sent his chief *ispán*, the palatine,³ with an army to guard the Russian Gate—called the Mountain Gate⁴—through which the road leads to Hungary, and announced in the whole country that both the nobles and those called *servientes regis* as well as the castle warriors attached to the aforementioned castles,⁵ should prepare for war and be ready when the king sent for them. When this was announced all across Hungary, the Hungarians, amidst their exceeding hilarities⁶ did not believe it and maintained that they had often heard such things about the Tatars and always found out that they meant nothing. They said that "*Many things are reborn that have fallen before.*"⁷ Others asserted that these rumors were spread by some prelates of churches so that they need not go to Rome to the synod called at that time by the Roman pope.⁸ That was their opinion. However, it was well known to all that Archbishop Ugolin of Kalocsa⁹ had ordered galleys in Venice for himself and some of his bishops, but the king called them back from the journey, against their will. So that they had a good excuse to disparage the king, quite a few others said that the Cumans had

attached to the royal castles (*iobagiones castri, castrenses*) and served under the *ispáns* or the castellans. The *servientes regis* and a good part of the castle warriors merged later into what became the "common nobility," see Rady, *Nobility*, pp. 35–44.

⁶ The reference may be to the carnival season (*Fassangus*); in that year between January 6 and February 12.

⁷ Horace, *Ars Poet.*, 70.

⁸ Pope Gregory IX had called a general council for Easter, March 31, 1241. His letter of 15 October 1240, encouraging the prelates to come to Rome in spite of the emperor's threats, is inserted in Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, vol. 4, pp. 112–9.

⁹ Ugolin (or Ugrin) d.g. Csák was royal chancellor 1217–9 and 1230–35 and became archbishop of Kalocsa (the second highest ecclesiastical dignity in the country) in 1219; he fell at Muhi (see below chapters 21, 28, and 30, pp. 169, 183, and 187).

contraxerant^a cum Tartaris^{b,1} ut simul contra Hungaros, a quibus multa mala perceperant et sepius destructi fuissent, dimicarent, et propter hoc plus quam per annum eos predictus Kuthen cum suis prevenerat, ut conditiones terre adisceret et linguam faceret sibi notam et, cum introitum illorum perciperet, pugnam inciperet contra regem et sic facilius illi portam poterant^c obtinere et ad ipsius Kuthen auxilium festinare et ita citius aliquam partem Hungarie poterant^d devastare, gaudendo et mordendo regem pro eo, quod Comanos introduxerat, ut superius est expressum. Et in hac opinione quamplurimi concordabant.

XV. DE CONSILIO REGIS CONTRA TARTAROS.

Cum ergo postmodum versus quadragesimam² pergeret iter suum magis ac magis fama huiusmodi crebrescente, rex ad quandam villam, que Buda dicitur, super rippam Danubii positam,³ in qua consueverat quadragesimam celebrare pro eo, quod dicebatur locus communior,⁴ properavit et archiepiscopis, episcopis et aliis regni maioribus convocatis deliberabat assidue, qualiter posset de tanto negotio providere, monens et ortans eos sepius, quod quilibet haberet suos stipendiarios^e milites preparados. Kuthen vero, qui cum uxore, filiis, filiabus et quibusdem suis maioribus tanquam suspectus et sceleris conscius a rege fuerant convocati, communi deliberato consilio curialiter, ne possent manus ipsorum effugere, custodie fuerunt mancipati.

^a contraxerunt *Ed.princ.*, contraxerint *A*, contraxissent *F*.

^b Tartaris *Juh.*, Ruthenis *Ed.princ.*

^c poterant *Ed.princ.*, poterint *A*, possent *F*

^d poterant *Ed.princ.*, poterint *A*, *om. F*

^e stipendiarios *A*, stipendarios *Ed.princ.*

made friends with the Tatars¹ to fight together against the Hungarians who had done them much wrong and had quite often destroyed them, that Kuten and his men had preceded them by more than a year in order to explore the conditions of the country and learn its language, and that as soon as he heard of their invasion, he would begin war against the king. Thus, they would be able the more easily to capture the gate, hasten to aid Kuten, and devastate some part of Hungary. With this, they happily carped at the king for having brought in the Cumans, as we told before. And many agreed with this opinion.

15 THE KING'S COUNCIL AGAINST THE TATARS

Then, when towards Lent² he was on his way and this kind of rumor was spreading ever farther, the king hurried towards a village called Buda on the Danube,³ where he usually spent Lent, as this place was held to be more easily accessible.⁴ Having called together the archbishops, bishops, and the other great men of the realm, he untiringly consulted how to act in this important matter. He repeatedly warned and encouraged them to keep their paid soldiers ready. Then, after common and considered decision of the court, he placed Kuten with his wife, sons, daughters and a few of his chief men, whom he had summoned as suspects and accessories to the crime, under guard lest they escape from their hands.

¹ Actually, the text in the *editio princeps* has "Russians," but this does not fit the context.

² Lent started on February 13 in 1241.

³ The reference is to what later came to be Óbuda (*Vetus Buda*), a settlement north of the later (after 1241) founded castle of Buda. It seems to have served as the first permanent location of royal offices that "went out of (the itinerant) court"; see András Kubinyi, *Die Anfänge Ofens* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1972), pp. 10–13.

⁴ The center of the country (*medium regni*) was the triangle Esztergom—Székesfehérvár—Buda. Both Andrew II and Béla IV seem to have usually spent the winter there.

XVI. QUID FECIT REX BELA, CUM PER PALATINUM
DE INTROITU TARTARORUM CERTIFICATUS FUIT.

Circa vero medium quadragesime venit ad regem cursitando unus de militibus palatini ex parte ipsius referens, quod iam ad portam Ruscie pervenerant et indagine¹ destruebant, et non credebant, quod palatinus posset eis resistere, nisi rex mitteret ei auxilium festinum. Rex adhuc incredulus secum armatos milites non habebat. Et, dum in anxietate huiusmodi permaneret, quarto die postea venit idem solus, qui nocte dieque cursitaverat, palatinus dicens, quod duodecimo die intrante Martio in porta congressum habuerat cum eisdem et suis pene omnibus sagittis et gladiis crudeliter trucidatis cum paucis evaserat et, que facta erant sibi, venerat nunciare. Sed, licet rex de malis rumoribus non modicum obstuperet, licentiavit tamen archiepiscopos, episcopos et alios suos comites et barones eis precipiens firmiter et districte, ut quilibet agregata sibi militia iuxta posse rediret^a ad ipsum et sine dilatione temporis festinaret, prout urgens necessitas et manifesta utilitas exigebat. Et precepit magistro Stephano episcopo Waciensi,² et^b Orodiensi³ et Sancti Salvatoris Chanadiensi prepositis,⁴ quod ad reginam⁵ festinanter accederent et ad confinium Austrie properarent ibidem finem huius negotii expectantes. Item per suas litteras rogavit ducem Austrie, ut ad ipsum accederet festinanter, et iussit Comanis omnibus, quod venire ad ipsum aliquatenus non differrent. Ipse enim de Strigoniensi et Albensi civitatibus, que ad unam tantum dietam distabant, exercitu congregato confestim transivit Danubium, et^c in magna et ditissima Theutonica villa, que Pesth dicitur,⁶ Bude opposita ex altera parte Danubii moram traxit suos ibidem cum exercitu expectans principes, comites et barones.

^a rediret *F*, redire *Ed.princ.*

^b et *om. Ed.princ.*

^c et *om. Ed.princ.*

¹ Medieval Hungary was surrounded by border zones and obstacles (ditches, felled trees, trenches, &c.) which were open only at certain, well-guarded gates. Thomas of Split recorded that Batu sent "men with axes who went in advance of the main host cutting down forests, laying roads, and removing all obstacles from the places of entry" (p. 259).

² Stephen d.g. Báncs was royal chancellor 1237-40, bishop of Vác 1241-2, archbishop of Esztergom until 1253, and finally (until 1270) bishop of Palestrina and cardinal.

16 WHAT KING BÉLA DID WHEN HE WAS TOLD BY THE PALATINE OF THE TATARS' INCURSION

About the middle of Lent one of the palatine's men arrived post haste to the king and reported in the name of the count palatine that [the Tatars] had reached the Russian Gate and were destroying the border obstacles,¹ and they were afraid that the palatine would not be able to withstand them unless the king sent help fast. The king, still incredulous, did not have armed warriors with him. While he was tarrying there amidst such anxieties, on the fourth day, the palatine himself arrived, having ridden night and day, and reported that in early March, on the twelfth, he had engaged them at the Gate. Almost all his men were cruelly killed by arrows and swords; he had escaped with a few and come to report what had happened. But the king, although quite astounded by the bad news, released his archbishops, bishops and others, his *ispáns* and barons, firmly and strictly ordering them to gather their troops and return to him as soon as possible, not losing time as urgent necessity and evident need demanded. He charged Master Stephen, bishop of Vác,² and the provosts of Arad³ and of the church of the Holy Savior in Cenad,⁴ to hurry to the queen⁵ and hasten with her to the Austrian border and wait there until this matter was over. He also wrote to the duke of Austria asking him to come quickly, and he commanded all the Cumans to join him without delay. Then he, with troops called up from the cities of Esztergom and Székesfehérvár (which were only one day distant), right away crossed the Danube and made a halt in the great and rich German village of Pest,⁶ across from Buda on the other side of the Danube, waiting there for his great men, *ispáns*, and barons with their troops.

³ Provost Albert of Arad was in 1229 the chancellor of Andrew II.

⁴ The identity of the provost of the collegiate church of Cenad is not known.

⁵ Maria Laskaris, daughter of Theodoros Laskaris, emperor of Nicea (1204–22), married to Prince Béla since 1220.

⁶ Pest, the eastern part of present-day Budapest, had by 1241 a sizeable German population (besides the earlier Slavic and Muslim settlers)—see Kubinyi, *Anfänge*, p. 16–7—which is why Roger calls it a German town.

XVII. ALIA INTERLOCUTIO.

Pater et domine, advertite, reverende! Et, quia, cum multa occurrerint, nequeunt dici simul, oportet igitur, quod uno dimisso negotio in dicendo aliud assumatur.

XVIII. SEQUITUR RURSUS INTERLOCUTIO.

Notate itaque nomina dominorum Tartarorum et qualiter intraverunt in Hungariam et astutiam eorundem, quia non dimittetur indiscussus articulus, quin quilibet sensus debitus imponatur.¹

XIX. NOMINA REGUM TARTARORUM IN HUNGARIAM INTRANTIIUM.²

Rex regum et dominus Tartarorum, qui Hungariam intraverunt, Bathus³ suo nomine vocabatur. Rector erat sub ipso in militia potentior Bochetor⁴ appellatus. Cadan⁵ in probitate melior dicebatur. Coacton,⁶ Seyban,⁷ Peta,⁸ Hermeus,⁹ Cheb,¹⁰ Ocadar¹¹ maiores reges inter Tartaros censebantur, quanquam essent inter eos alii reges

¹ The sentence seems to be garbled in the surviving text.

² Roger's list, clearly based on hearsay, is a mixture of correct and incomprehensible names, while also omitting certain important leaders, such as Orda, Batu's brother, and Buri, another grandson of Chinggis, who are known to have been commanders of units in the 1237–41 campaign. The misspelled names have been the subject of various interpretations.

³ Batu (d. 1256) was, as son of Jochi, a grandson of Chinggis Khan, and commander of the Mongols attacking East Central Europe; he became the founder of the Golden Horde.

⁴ Roger's *Bochetor* comes most likely from the Mongolian *ba'atur* (hero), which was the by-name of Sübe'tei, one of the earliest retainers of Chinggis and, as early as 1205, commander of a major force. The old warrior was attached to Batu as his "strategic advisor."

⁵ Qadan, as the son of Ögedei, was also a grandson of Chinggis.

17 ANOTHER INSERT

Attend, revered father, my lord! When there are many things that happened, one cannot talk about them at once, so it is better to start with one and put others aside.

18 ANOTHER INSERT FOLLOWS

Please remember the names of the chiefs of the Tatars, how they broke into Hungary, and their cunning, for I will not leave any chapter without discussing and giving it suitable sense.¹

19 THE NAME OF THE KINGS OF THE TATARS
WHO INVADED HUNGARY²

The *king of kings and lord* of the Tatars who entered Hungary was called by the name of Batu.³ The most powerful chief in the army below him was called Bohetor.⁴ The most valiant was said to be Qadan.⁵ Coacton,⁶ Seyban,⁷ Peta,⁸ Hermeus,⁹ Cheb¹⁰ and Ocadar¹¹ were held to be major kings among the Tatars, though there were many other kings, dukes and powerful men among them who

⁶ Göckenjan (*Mongolensturm*, p. 202, n. 92) has sought to identify Coacton with Güyüg, later Great Khan, who set out with Batu for the West but was called back to march against Karakorum.

⁷ Seiban was the youngest brother of Batu.

⁸ Perhaps a misspelling of Bajdar, commander of the detachment that attacked Poland and Moravia and joined the troops of Batu later (see below, ch. 20).

⁹ The name Hermeus cannot be connected to any known Mongol leader.

¹⁰ Göckenjan (p. 202, n. 96) reads this name as that of Jebe ("Weapon"), the famous commander and retainer of Chinggis, who, however, is not otherwise known to have been on the Western campaign.

¹¹ Ocadar is hypothetically identified with Great Khan Ögedei (ibid., n. 97), who, of course, did not take part in the campaign.

quamplurimi, principes et potentes, qui cum quinquies centenis milibus armatorum¹ regnum Hungarie invaserunt.

XX. QUOMODO TARTARI RUSCIAM ET COMANIAM² DESTRUXERUNT.

Sic autem, quando Rusciam et Comaniam^a totaliter et unanimiter destruxerunt, retrocedentes ad quattuor vel quinque dietas intacta confinia Hungarie continua dimiserunt, ut, cum reverterentur, tam pro equis, quam pro se victualia invenirent et rumores ad Hungaros minime pervenirent.³ Cum quidem victualia dictorum regnorum consumpsissent et Hungariam proponerent occupare, Bathus maior dominus dimissa tota familia solus cum suis militibus et non multis ad dictam portam Ruscie, que propior erat ad locum, in quo rex congregabat exercitum,⁴ recto tramite properavit et expugnato exercitu comitis palatini eandem portam obtinuit et intravit. Peta rex⁵ per Poloniam dirigens gressus suos uno ab ipso de ducibus Polonie⁶ interfecto et destructa Wratislavia civitate nobilissima et strage facta mirabili ac in terram ducis Moravie aliis ducibus prestare sibi auxilium nequeuntibus simili crudelitate pervadens ad portam Hungarie festinavit.⁷ Rex Cadan inter Rusciam et Coma-

^a Comaniam *A*, Camoniam *Ed.princ.*

¹ The size of the Mongol army seems to be seriously overstated. According to different sources (see *ibid.*, n. 98, pp. 202-3) Batu set out to the West with only two of the five major armies of the Mongols and thus may have had some fifty thousand men under his command. Other estimates go up as far as 100,000.

² While the Cumans lived in a wide area between the River Iltis and the Lower Danube, Hungarian sources (apparently known to Roger) use the term Cumania to refer to the area more or less identical with what came to be the territory of the later Romanian principalities.

³ In fact, news had already reached Hungary of the move of the Mongols westward around 1237 through the report of the Dominican Friar Julian, who had to give up his second attempt at finding the relatives of the Magyars near the Ural Mountains (*Magna Hungaria*) because of the advance of the Tatars. He alerted the Hungarian court in his "Epistula de vita Tartarorum," 4-5 (Dörrie, ed., *Drei Texte*, pp. 177-81). There are also some other references to Mongol envoys sent to King Béla, threatening him with war, *inter alia* for having received the Cuman refugees (*ibid.*, pp. 179), and

attacked the kingdom of Hungary with five hundred thousand armed men.¹

20 HOW THE TATARS DESTROYED RUS' AND CUMANIA²

So, having entirely and single-mindedly destroyed Rus' and Cumania, they retreated to the distance of four to five days, leaving untouched the borderlands adjacent to Hungary, so that when they returned they would be able to find food and fodder for themselves and their horses and so that no news might reach the Hungarians about them.³ Once they had exhausted the victuals of the said countries and decided to occupy Hungary, Batu, their leading chief, hastened, having dismissed his retinue, with a few of his warriors straight to the said Russian Gate, which was nearest to the place where the king was assembling his army.⁴ After having defeated the troops of the count palatine, he took this gate and passed through it. King Peta⁵ directed his steps towards Poland and, having killed one of the dukes of Poland⁶ he destroyed the noblest city of Wrocław in a horrible bloodbath; then he crossed with similar cruelty the land of the duke of Moravia—while no other dukes came to his aid—and hastened to the gate of Hungary.⁷ King Qadan arrived after three days' march through the forests between

also in the letter of a certain Ivo of Narbonne to the bishop of Bordeaux, included in Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, vol. 4, pp. 270–7, here p. 274.

⁴ The reference to “the king” is ambiguous. King Béla's army was at that point not assembling anywhere, while Batu's seems to have been stationed somewhere in Rus'.

⁵ The commanders of the Mongol troops that attacked Poland were in fact Orda, Kajdu and Bajdar.

⁶ Duke Henry II of Silesia fell in the battle of Legnica/Liegnitz on April 9, 1241, where the Polish forces were routed by the Mongols.

⁷ The Mongols took Cracow on 24 March, attacked Wrocław (which had been deserted by its inhabitants, hence no “great bloodbath” followed) on 2 April and, after the victory at Legnica, moved via Henrików and Otmuchów to Moravia. King Wenceslas I (1230–53) arrived too late to challenge them, so they wasted the duchy and entered Hungary across the White Carpathians towards Trenčín.

niam^a per silvas trium dierum habens iter sive viam pervenit ad divitem Rudanam inter magnos montes positam Theutonicorum villam¹ regis argentifodinam, in qua morabatur innumera populi multitudo. Sed, cum essent homines bellicosi et armorum penuriam non haberent, audito ipsorum adventu extra villam per silvas et montes eis obviam exierunt. Cadan vero respiciens multitudinem armatorum terga dedit fingens fugam ante eos. Tunc populi cum victoria revertentes armis depositis inebriari vino, prout Theutonicorum furia² exigit, inceperunt, sed ipsi Tartari subito venientes, cum fossata, muros et munitiones aliquas non haberent, villam ex multis partibus intraverunt. Et, licet hincinde fieret magna strages, videns populus, quod eis resistere non valebat, se ad fidem eorum totaliter reddiderunt. Sed Cadan sub sua protectione villa recepta Aristaldum comitem ville³ cum electis sexcentis armatis Theutonicis suis militibus associavit sibi venire cum eis incipiens citra silvas.⁴ Bochetor⁵ autem cum aliis regibus fluvium, qui Zerech dicitur, transeuntes pervenerunt ad terram episcopi Comanorum⁶ et expugnatis hominibus, qui ad pugnam convenerant, ceperunt terram totaliter occupare. Revertar igitur ad regem Hungarie, qui erat in dicta villa Pesth, ut processus eius plenius describatur.

^a Comaniam *A*, Camoniam *Ed.princ.*

¹ Rodna (Hungarian: Radna) was the most important early center of silver mining in northern Transylvania. Its inhabitants were mostly 'Saxon' miners, hence its description as a "German city."

² While the expression *furor Theutonicus* goes back to Lucan (*Phars.*, 1, 255), it re-emerged much closer to our author's time during the Italian wars of Barbarossa. See Wolfgang Giese and Rex Ruffe, "*furoris Teutonici decor!* Kaiser Friedrich Barbarossas Kriegsführung in Italien, eine Wiederauferstehung des *furor teutonicus*?" in: Uta-Schnith Lindgren and Karl-Jakob Seibert, eds., *Sine ira et studio. Militär-historische Studien zur Erinnerung an Hans Schmidt* (Kallmünz/Opf.: Lassleben, 2001), pp. 41–50.

Rus' and Cumania to Rodna, the rich village of the Germans¹ built among the high mountains. It was the king's silver mine, filled with people of immense number. But, since these were warlike men and not short of weapons, when they heard of their arrival, they went out across the mountains and forests to meet them outside the town. Qadan, seeing the multitude of armed men, turned his back and feigned retreat. The people, returning victoriously, put aside their arms and, as moved by the furor of the Teutons, began to be inebriated by wine.² Then the Tatars suddenly returned and entered the city from all sides, for it had no moat, no walls, and no other fortifications. Although there was great slaughter on both sides, when the people saw that they could not resist, they gave themselves up altogether to their mercy. Qadan took the city under his protection, attached Aristald, the *ispán* of the town,³ along with six hundred selected German soldiers, to his army and started out with them across the forest.⁴ Meanwhile Bogutai,⁵ together with other kings, crossed the river called Seret, reached the land of the bishop of the Cumans,⁶ defeated the men assembled there for battle and seized the entire land. Let us now return to the king of Hungary in the said city of Pest, to describe his progress in detail.

³ Rodna was exempt from the authority of the county's *ispán* and had its own *comes*. A *Herystoldus*, "former *ispán* of Radna," is mentioned in a charter of King Béla IV from 1243 (see Györffy, *Geographia*, 1, pp. 553–62).

⁴ The forest refers to the forested mountains separating Hungary from Transylvania (lit. "Beyond the forest"); thus Qadan moved west towards Hungary proper.

⁵ Other sources identify the leaders of this army of the Mongols, besides Bogutai, as Sübötej and Böyek. There may have been two detachments of the "southern wing."

⁶ The bishopric of the Cumans (with its see at Milko, founded in the 1220s) covered the area between the rivers Seret and Olt, sometimes including also Braşov and its area. Its first bishop was Theodor, head of the Hungarian Dominican province.

XXI. QUALITER TARTARI PROCESSERUNT,
POSTQUAM PORTAM HABUERUNT.

Postquam autem maior dominus Bathus portam habuit, cepit villas comburrere et suus gladius non parcebat sexui vel etati et ad regem, quantum poterat, festinabat et, cum prope ad Pesth ad mediam dietam ante dominicam de passione domini die Veneris¹ pervenisset, statim quosdam usque ad villam misit comburrendo, interficendo, prout eis innata malitia ministrabat. Sequenti die misit alios vel eosdem, qui peragebant similia vel peiora. Sed rex exire ad eos et aliquos ad faciendum congressum nullatenus dimittebat. Et illi, dum credebantur ire, revertebantur et, dum putarentur reverti, iterum veniebant diem in ludo totaliter expendentes. Cunque die dominico facerent illud idem, Ugolinus Colocensis archiepiscopus hoc grave ferens quamplurimum, quod quidem quasi predones tot bonos homines confundebant, et gravius, quod rex sibi et suis pusillanimus videbatur, propter quod contra mandatum regis cum paucis de suis foras exiens congressum habere voluit cum eisdem. Sed illi terga vertentes paulatim retrocedere inceperunt. Hoc archiepiscopus intuens incepit eos equorum insequi pleno cursu. Tandem terra paludosa reperta illi huc^a velocius transierunt paludem. Hoc^b archiepiscopus non advertens, cum proximus illis esset, festinus intravit; cum esset cum suis armorum pondere pressus, transire vel retrocedere nequierunt. Sed illi ad eos velocius revertentes circumdederunt paludem et in ipsos sagittas velut pluviam^c emitentes eosdem ibidem totaliter necaverunt. Cum tribus aut quatuor evadens archiepiscopus sic confusus remeavit ad villam non modicam iram habens tam de suis perditis, quam de eo, quod rex non fecit aliquem in sui subsidium properare.

^a huc *om. A*

^b Hoc *A, om. Ed.princ.*

^c pluviam *A, pluvia Ed.princ.*

21 HOW THE TATARS PROCEEDED AFTER
CAPTURING THE GATE

Batu, the major lord, having captured the Gate, began to burn down villages, and his sword did not pardon sex or age, and he hastened as fast as he could against the king. When he reached a place half a day's distance from Pest on the Friday preceding the Sunday of the Lord's Passion,¹ he sent out men to burn and kill as their in-born viciousness dictated. On the next day, he sent others or the same and they committed similar or worse deeds. But the king did not allow anyone to go out and engage them. When they were expected to withdraw, they returned and, when they were thought to be withdrawing, they came back again; the whole day was spent playing thus. When they did the same on Sunday, Archbishop Ugolin of Kalocsa took it badly that they should, like robbers, dishonor so many good people, but bore it even worse that both to him and his men the king seemed to be fainthearted. Therefore, he went out, against the king's order, with a few men and wanted to have battle with them. But they turned their backs and began slowly to retreat. Seeing this, the archbishop spurred on his horse and gave them chase. Eventually, they reached a marshland and they crossed it swiftly. The archbishop did not notice this when he was quite close to them and hastily entered it. Being weighed down by their armor, he and his men could neither cross nor return. But the Tatars turned around quickly, surrounded the marsh and killed them all with a shower of arrows. The archbishop escaped with three or four men and returned embarrassed to the city, quite irate because of the loss of his men and that the king did not send any help to them.

¹ March 15, 1241. Thus the advance detachment—surely not the entire army—that arrived near Pest, apparently to harass the gathering royal army, covered a distance of 300 km in three days, an impressive achievement though not unknown of Mongol horsemen.

XXII. QUOMODO FUIT DESTRUCTA CIVITAS WACIENSIS.¹

In dominica de passione² pars exercitus Bathi *regis regum* accessit ad Waciam civitatem positam super rippam Danubii ad mediam dietam prope ad villam Pesth, in qua rex cum exercitu morabatur. Et capta civitate penitus et debellata, qui ad ecclesiam et ad palatia ecclesie, que erant quasi castrum munita, recursum habuerant tam de civitate, quam de circumpositis villis, innumera populi multitudo eos viriliter expugnaverunt et thezauro ecclesie habito canonicos et alias personas dominas et puellas, quas noluerunt interimere gladio^a in igne totaliter cremaverunt. Et ita in dominica de passione Wacienses passi sunt, ut *cum domino Christo partem*³ *habere* mererentur.

XXIII. QUOMODO DUX AUSTRIE INSULTUM FECIT IN TARTAROS.

Illud non est aliquoliter obmittendum, quod dux Austrie rogatus a rege venerat, sed cum paucis tanquam facti nescius et inermis. Et, cum aliqui ex Tartaris ad villam Pesth more solito advenissent, armis et equis sibi assumptis obviis eis fuit. Et, cum simul congregi^b debuissent, illi terga dantes, prout assueverunt, abibant^c. Sed dux submisso equo subdens calcaria quendam attinxit percutiens eum cum lancea taliter, quod lancee hasta fracta de equo ipsum prostravit ad terram. Alteri vero ipsorum canesio,⁴ id est, maiori, volenti prostrato succurrere armato more iuxta sellam confestim arrepto

^a noluerunt interimere gladio *A*, voluerunt interimere gladio et *Ed.princ.*

^b congregi *F*, congressi *Ed.princ.*

^c abibant *A*, abiebant *Ed.princ.*

¹ Vác (German: Waitzen), some 40 km north of Budapest, was a bishopric probably founded by St Stephen around 1030. Its cathedral, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, was built (or completed) by King Géza I (1074–7).

² March 17, 1241.

22 HOW THE CITY OF VÁC¹ WAS DESTROYED

On Passion Sunday,² a part of the army of the *king of kings*, Batu, reached the city of Vác, which is along the Danube, half a day's distance from Pest, where the king was staying with his army. Once they had completely occupied and defeated the city, an innumerable crowd of people vigorously stormed the church and the palace of the church, which were fortified like a castle, where people from the town and the surrounding villages had taken refuge. Then, after having seized the treasury of the church, they completely burned in the fire all those whom they did not wish to kill by the sword: all the canons and other persons, ladies, and girls. Thus on the day of Passion, those of Vác suffered their passion so as to be worthy to *have part with the Lord Christ*.³

23 HOW THE DUKE OF AUSTRIA
ASSAULTED THE TATARS

It should not be left unmentioned that the duke of Austria arrived at the king's request but with only a few men and unarmed, as if knowing nothing of what had happened. When the Tatars came in their usual manner to the city of Pest, he took his weapons and mounted his horse to meet them. When they were about to clash, they turned their back and went off, as was their wont. But the duke spurred on his compliant horse, caught up with one of them and hit him with his lance so that, even though the lance broke, he fell to the ground. When another, their *knes*, that is leader,⁴ came

³ John 13.8.

⁴ This word, the Hungarian *kenéz*, from Slavic *knez* ('prince') (see also above, p. 96, may have been known to Roger as the term for leaders of groups or villages of Vlachs (Romanians). He uses the term later also for judges or administrators (see ch. 35, p. 209, below). John of Plano Carpini cited Mongolian "laws" that prescribed that wounded warriors had to be assisted not to fall into the hands of the enemy (see Dawson, *Mission*, pp. 49–50)).

mucrone uno ictu brachium illius amputavit, qui statim de sella corruens expiravit. Aliis in fugam conversis prostratum ceperunt ipsum vinctum cum equis ad exercitum adducentes. Propter hoc Hungari assumpta materia exprobrare regem ac exaltare ipsum ducem unanimiter incepterunt.

XXIV. QUOMODO KUTHEN REX COMANORUM EXTITIT INTERFECTUS.

Cumque publica fama esset, quod Kuthen, qui cum suis, ut dictum est, prope ad regem in custodia tenebatur, esset tanti sceleris non immunis et adhuc, qui venerant, Comani non Tartari¹ crederentur, clamabat totus populus contra eum: Moriatur, moriatur! ipse est, qui destructionem Hungarie procuravit! Pro ipso regi sepius exprobrantes dicebant: Pugnet rex noster, qui Comanos in nostrum odium introduxit. Alii clamabant: Pugnet rex cum illis, quibus nostra predia sunt collata. Rex exprobrationibus frequenter auditis misit hominem ad Kuthen, quod ad ipsum accedere non differret. Sed Kuthen, qui crebro acclamationes populi audiebat, timens penam, licet esset immunis a culpa, mandavit regi, quod ad ipsum nequaquam accederet, nisi sibi talem hominem destinaret, cui esset potentia ipsum ad eundem ducere ac ipsum eruere de manibus populorum. Hoc regi nuncio referente clamor factus est magnus in populo: Moriatur, moriatur! Ac sic subito Hungari et Theutunici armati intrantes pallatium, in quo erat, violenter ad ipsum accedere voluerunt, Kuthen vero cum suis arreptis arcubus et sagittis ad se ipsos accedere non sinebant. Sed populorum multitudine accedente ceperunt eosdem et cunctis in instanti capitibus amputatis ea in populos per fenestras de pallatio proiecerunt. Quidam autem volunt hoc facinus duci Austrie im-

¹ Besides the fact that nomadic horsemen of different origins could be easily mistaken, it is possible that some Cuman forced into the Mongol army was captured in the skirmishes. Actually, several sources, for example the author(s) of the Heiligenkreuz Annals (*Continuatio Sanctrucensis*, pp. 639–41), regularly mixed up the deeds of Cumans and Mongols.

to the aid of the fallen men, the duke speedily grabbed the sword that hung on his saddle in a warlike way and with one blow cut off his arm. Toppling at once out of the saddle, the man gave up his soul. Since the rest took flight, they captured the fallen man, bound him and took him back to the army, together with the horses. The Hungarians used the occasion to unanimously disparage the king and praise the duke.

24 HOW KUTEN, THE KING OF THE CUMANS, WAS KILLED

And because it was commonly held that Kuten, who, as we said, was kept under guard near the king, was not innocent in these great crimes, and because it was thought that those who now attacked were Cumans and not Tatars,¹ all the people clamored against him: "He has to die! He has to die! He is the one who brought about the destruction of Hungary!" They also accused the king, saying: "The king should fight; he brought in the Cumans out of hatred for us." Others shouted "The king should go to war with those to whom he granted our properties!" The king, who often heard these reproaches, sent a man to Kuten that he should immediately come to him. But Kuten, who also heard the repeated clamor of the people, was, although innocent, still afraid of punishment and replied to the king that he could not go to him unless he sent such a person for him who had the power to conduct him there and keep him from the hands of the people. When the messenger told this to the king there was great uproar among the people: "He has to die! He has to die!" Suddenly, armed Hungarians and Germans broke into the palace where he was staying and wanted to reach him by force. Kuten and those with him, however, took up bows and arrows and did not allow them to seize them. But when a throng of people rushed there, they were captured, and their heads immediately cut off and thrown out of the windows of the palace into the crowd. Some are inclined to assign this crime to the duke of Austria,¹ others say that it was done on the king's

putare,¹ ab aliis vero de mandato regis dicitur esse factum; tamen, postquam pro certo est compertum, quod Kuthen huius nequitie est expers, asserunt hoc verisimile non esse, quod rex, qui ipsum de sacro fonte levaverat et securitatem sibi dederat prestito iuramento, tantum facinus perpetrasset. Nolo quidem ego, qualiter hoc actum est, diffinire; diffiniat ille, qui novit, et penam vel gratiam unicuique *iuxta opera sua reddet*.²

XXV. QUID FECERUNT COMANI AUDITA
MORTE REGIS IPSORUM ET QUALITER REX BELA
CONTRA TARTAROS PROCESSIT.

Tartaris itaque die noctuque in circuitu villas comburrentibus instabat Colocensis archiepiscopus apud regem, ut exiret cum exercitu contra eos. Igitur duce Austrie recedente maxime cum maior regni exercitus advenisset^a, rex cum exercitu motus exiens incepit paulatim procedere contra eos. Cunque Comani vocati contra Tartaros, ubicunque essent, in regis subsidium unanimiter advenirent, audita morte sui domini Kutheni *turbati sunt graviter et commoti*,³ quid deberent agere, ignorantes. Cum autem rumor de morte eiusdem increbuisse, Hungari villani odiosi eis ubique contra eos insurgere ceperunt spoliando, interficiendo eosdem sine aliqua pietate. Qui, cum taliter inspicerent se peremi, insimul congregati non solum se deffendere inceperunt, sed villas comburrere et rusticos viriliter expugnare.

^a advenisset *A*, advenisset et sic *Ed. Princ.*

¹ In the Heiligenkreuz Annals (*Continuatio Sanctrucensis*, p. 640) the attack on Kuten is assigned to Frederick of Austria.

command. Still, once it became clear that Kuten was no party to this wickedness, it was said that it was unlikely that the king, who raised him from the baptismal font and promised him safety under oath, would have committed such a crime. I certainly do not want to decide how all this happened. He who knows shall decide and grant punishment or grace to everyone *according to his deeds*.²

25 WHAT THE CUMANS DID WHEN THEY HEARD OF THEIR KING'S DEATH AND HOW KING BÉLA SET OUT AGAINST THE TATARS

Because the Tatars were day and night burning down villages all around, the archbishop of Kalocsa urged the king to march out against them in force. Thus, after the departure of the duke of Austria and especially when the majority of the country's army had arrived, the king moved out with his army and marched slowly against them. When the Cumans, called to arms from everywhere against the Tatars all arrived and heard of the death of their lord, Kuten, they *were* very much *troubled and agitated*,³ not knowing what to do. When the news of his death had spread, the Hungarian peasants, who hated them, rose against them, and pillaged and killed them mercilessly. They in turn, realizing that they might perish, came together and not only defended themselves but also burned down villages and vigorously defeated the peasants.

² The author implies that God alone knew what exactly had happened.

³ Ps. 106.27.

XXVI. QUOMODO EVASIT CHANADIENSIS EPISCOPUS MANUS COMANORUM.

Sed, cum Bulzo Chanadiensis episcopus¹ et Nicolaus filius Borc² cum nobilibus multis uxores, filios et filias et familias ad partes superiores conducerent et postmodum ad regis exercitum festinantes accederent, obviantes Comanis incepterunt pugnam durissimam contra eos et eis resistere nequeuntibus sunt quasi omnes gladio interempti. Episcopus tamen cum paucis in curru iacens infirmus, dum pugna fieret, est longius asportatus. Comani vero, ut Tartari, terram postmodum destruentes et convenientes in unum ex ista parte Danubium transierunt et sic destruendo incepterunt ad Marchiam³ properare. Illi autem de marchia hoc scientes convenerunt in unum et eis obviam exeuntes congressum cum eis in finibus Marchie habuerunt et superati ab eis preveniebant unus alium fugiendo et sic Comani ceperunt Marchiam nequiter expugnare mortem sui domini crudeliter vindicantes. Nam, cum interficiebant Hungaros, sic dicebant : Hunc ictum sufferas pro Kutheno! Et destructis melioribus villis, scilicet Franka villa senatoria, Sancti Martini⁴ et aliis et recepta multa pecunia, equis et pecoribus destruendo terram in Bulgariam transierunt.⁵

¹ Bulcsú d.g. Lád was bishop of Cenad between 1229 and 1254.

² Nicholas son of Barc d.g. Szák, a close supporter of King Andrew II, was count palatine 1213–4 and 1219–22. He fell out of grace with Béla IV. As he does not feature in later sources, he presumably lost his life during the Mongol invasion.

³ *Marchia* meant the region between the rivers Danube and Sava, otherwise called Srem (Sirmium; Hung. Szerémség). In earlier time, there may have been a border county (*marchia*, ‘march’), hence the name.

⁴ Both of these (in Hung.: Nagyolaszi and Szentmárton) were settlements of “Latin” *hospites*; the former, characterized as “having a senate,” may have enjoyed certain liberties typical for market towns of foreign settlers.

26 HOW THE BISHOP OF CENAD ESCAPED FROM THE HANDS OF THE CUMANS

However, when Bishop Bulcsú of Cenad¹ and Nicholas son of Barc,² together with many noblemen, tried to move their wives, sons, daughters and servants to upper Hungary and then quickly join the king's army, they were confronted by Cumans and fought very hard with them. Unable to resist them, almost all perished by the sword. While the fighting was going on, the bishop, lying sick in a carriage, was taken away with a few companions. The Cumans then wasted the land just like the Tatars; they assembled and crossed the Danube from this side and hastened, thus wasting, towards the March.³ When the men of the March heard this, they assembled, went to meet them and engaged them at the border of the March. But they were defeated and vied with each other in flight. Thus the Cumans wickedly occupied the March, cruelly avenging the death of their lord. When they were killing Hungarians, they said "Take this blow for Kuten!" Then, having destroyed some more notable villages, such as the market town of Mandelos, [the village of] Martinci⁴ and others, they took much money, horses and cattle, and left for Bulgaria, wasting the land.⁵

⁵ As mentioned above (see n. 7, p. 137), Cumans had settled in the Balkans some time earlier, so those fleeing Hungary were met by fellow countrymen who played important roles in the development of the Bulgarian and Wallachian states. However, King Béla IV recalled them in 1245 and many of them (though it is unknown what part) returned, so that a sizeable Cuman population came to settle in the Hungarian Plain; see Berend, *At the Gate*, pp. 68–73, 87–93, 97–100, etc. (see Index, p. 336). See also Robert L. Wolff, "The 'Second Bulgarian Empire': Its origin and history to 1204," *Speculum* 24 (1949), pp. 167–206.

XXVII. QUOMODO WARADIENSIS EPISCOPUS
PER TARTAROS EXTITIT DECEPTUS.

Benedictus quidem Waradiensis episcopus¹ per se de mandato regis magno exercitu congregato et volens in ipsius subsidium accedere intellexit, quod Tartari civitatem Agriensem destruxerant, hominibus de civitate et aliis, qui ad defensionem ipsius convenerant, aliis combustis, aliis gladio interemptis spolia, thesaurum episcopi² et ecclesie exinde asportabant. Unde sumens audaciam pro eo, quod paucis diebus elapsis congressum cum paucis eorum habuerat et prevaluerat contra eos, incepit post ipsos dimisso exercitu festinare, ut sibi posset fragmenta colligere, ne perirent. Hoc Tartari prescipientes finxerunt se ire longius et steterunt. Et, cum haberent equos plurimos et ipsi pauci existerent,³ fragmenta talia ordinaverunt. Fecerunt enim^a larvas et monstra quamplurima ea super equos vacuos, tanquam si essent milites, ordinando et equos illos sub quodam monticulo paucis cum eis relictis servientibus dimiserunt mandantes eisdem, ut, cum ipsi cum Hungaris ingrederentur ad pugnam, ipsi exirent acie ordinata et paulatim procederent versus eos. Et ipsi in planitie Hungaros expectabant. Quibus advenientibus Bocho⁴ comes⁴ et quidam^b alii, qui de melioribus militibus Hungarie putabantur, qui cum episcopo venerant, ipsis visis habenis equorum dimissis congressum habuerunt durissimum cum eisdem. Et, cum essent Tartari numero pauciores, terga eis dare fingentes versus monticulum retrocedere inceperunt. Et, dum ipsi cum larvis exierunt sub monte et, ut condictum erat, acie ordinata, Hungari hoc videntes et opinantes eis insidias factas terga dederunt et fugam velociter inierunt, Tartari autem mox in illos conversi illos sequebantur eosdem prostrando, interficiendo, prout nequius crudelitates poterant exercere. Episcopus autem cum paucis reversus est

^a autem *Ed.princ.*

^b quidam *A*, quidem *Ed.princ.*

27 HOW THE BISHOP OF ORADEA WAS TRICKED BY THE TATARS

Bishop Benedict of Oradea¹ collected a sizeable army on the king's command and was about to march to his aid when he heard that the Tatars had destroyed the city of Eger and looted the treasures of the bishop² and the church, having killed the citizens and others who came to their aid, by fire and sword. Encouraged by the fact that he had a few days before attacked and defeated a minor group of them, he dismissed the troops and pursued the Tatars in order to recover bits of it lest they be lost. The Tatars, foreseeing that, feigned retreat and halted. Because they had many horses but not enough men,³ they devised and arranged this: they made puppets and many monstrous figures which they sat on the riderless horses as if they were warriors; then they lined up the horses at the foot of a hillock with some servants. They ordered that when they engaged the Hungarians in battle, the servants should lead the horses in battle line marching slowly towards them. They waited on the plain for the Hungarians. When these arrived, *ispán* Both⁴ and a few others, regarded as some of Hungary's better warriors, who were in the bishop's retinue, dropping the reins of their horses fought with them a tough battle. Since the Tatars were fewer in numbers, they feigned retreat and began to move towards the hillock. Then, when the ghost riders appeared from below the hill in battle line, as planned, the Hungarians thought that they had fallen into a trap, turned around and ran away fast. The Tatars now turned around, pursued them, struck them down and slew them, committing as much cruelty as possible. The bishop, how-

¹ Benedict d.g. Osl was bishop-elect of Oradea 1231–43, but did not receive papal approval.

² The bishop of Eger was Kilit d.g. Bél, 1224–45.

³ It is well known that the Mongols (like other mounted nomads) always led with them several additional horses for relief.

⁴ Probably *ispán* Both d.g. Becsegergely.

Waradinum et aliquantula mora facta collectis aliquibus militibus transivit Danubium¹ et evasit.

XXVIII. DE INFELICI BELLO REGIS BELE CUM TARTARIS COMMISSO.

Cunque rex, ut dictum est, egressus de villa Pesth progrediretur contra Tartaros cum multitudine armatorum, illi de combustionibus villarum reversi et subito insimul congregati per viam, per quam venerant, retroibant et, sicut isti paulatim persequiebantur eosdem, sic et illi tantum ante ipsos se fugere simulabant. Et, cum ad quandem aquam, que Sayo dicitur, que non multum longe de Agriensi civitate fluit et intrat Ticiam, pervenissent, post aque transitum, que fiebat per pontem, castra metati sunt² et steterunt ponentes in ponte custodes, qui noctis vigiliis custodirent. Tartari quidem post transitum eiusdem paludis circa aquam se in planitie posuerunt. Et, cum aqua magna existeret et lutosa^a, non erat eis credulitas, quod sine ponte transitus alicui esse posset. Rex suos interim hortabatur, ut ad pugnam viriliter se haberent, vexilla non pauca manu propria maioribus assignando.³ Hungari autem habebant hec omnia in derisum de multitudine confidentes, ad pugnam tamen propter rationes superius assignatas cor et animum non habebant. Volebant quidem, quod rex perderet, ut ipsi chariores postmodum haberentur, credentes plagam huiusmodi particularem quibusdem et non omnibus generalem, sicut audierant quandoque in Hungaria esse factum, nam intrabant Comani subito et aliquam partem terre, antequam convenirent Hungari, destruebant festinantes postmodum ad recessum et interdum Hungari iidem^b de Comania faciebant.

^a lutosa *A*, lutosa quod *Ed.princ.*

^b idem *A*

¹ Roger's account of the bishop's escape is somewhat simplified: from Oradea the bishop and his men must have crossed the Tisza River first and then the Danube. However, Bishop Benedict is not listed by name among the dignitaries who were with the king in Dalmatia; see Thomas of Split, pp. 293–4.

ever, returned with a few men to Oradea, stayed there a while to collect some troops, then crossed the Danube¹ and escaped.

28 THE ILL-FATED BATTLE OF KING BÉLA WITH THE TATARS

When the king marched out from the city of Pest, as mentioned, and moved with a great number of armed men against the Tatars, they stopped burning villages, quickly assembled, and retreated by the way they had come. As much as they were little by little pursued, so they pretended to retreat. When the Hungarians reached a certain river called Sajó (not far from the city of Eger, running into the Tisza River) they crossed the river on a bridge, halted and encamped.² They placed guards on the bridge and kept night watch. The Tatars, after crossing the same marsh encamped on the plain next to the river. It seemed unlikely that anyone could cross except by the bridge, for the river was wide and muddy. Meanwhile the king encouraged his men to prepare manfully for battle and personally handed out many flags³ among the great men. The Hungarians, trusting their number, made fun of all this and—owing to the matters discussed above—had neither mind nor spirit for fighting. They would have liked the king to be defeated so that they would then be dearer to him. They thought that any such calamity would only hit some in particular and not all in general as they had heard that such things had happened before in Hungary. For the Cumans used to attack swiftly and devastate a part of the country before the Hungarians could assemble, and then quickly retreat. And the Hungarians did the

² The camp and the battle are traditionally located at a place called Muhi puszta.

³ There is no other evidence of a Hungarian king handing out flags to the leaders of his troops. In later sources, however, the units that went to war under the command of major lords or county *ispáns* were called *banderia* (from Italian *bandiera*, ‘banner’). True, Anonymus put flags into the hands of the ninth-century Magyars (see above, pp. 89, 99), but this reflects early thirteenth-century practice.

Sed non sic, quia hec ultima primis minime responderunt. Tamen mille milites omni nocte ad custodiam exercitus ponebantur. Quid plura? Tartari vadum invenientes longe ab exercitu et una nocte unanimiter transierunt et in aurora totum regis exercitum circumdantes sagittas emittere in exercitum sicut grandines inceperunt. Hungari vero, et quia fuerunt taliter occupati et illorum preventi astutia, cum armati equos suos ascendebant, nequibant milites suos dominos et domini suos milites invenire et, cum ad pugnam accederent, tepide ac remisse accedebant; tanta erat crebrosa emissio sagittarum, quod fere umbram pugnantibus faciebant, et sagitte, sicut locuste et bruccus congregatim vadunt, per aera volabant. Et sic sagittarum ictus minime sufferre valentes infra circulum exercitus retroibant. Rex vero acies non poterat ordinare. Et, si mixtim ex quacunque parte ibant Hungari ad pugnam, illi eis cum sagittis obviam venientes ipsos infra exercitum retrocedere faciebant ita, quod ipsi ex calore nimio et angustia maxima ad tantam lassitudinem^a venerant, quod rex et Colocensis archiepiscopus, qui anxii formidabant, nec minis neque adulationibus ac monitionibus iam ad pugnam poterant aliquos destinare ab aurora usque ad meridiem in tali angustia existentes. Tandem iam, cum deficere viderentur, dux Colomanus frater regis cum suis, quos in tanta pressura habere potuit, conflictum durissimum ex una parte exercitus habuit cum eisdem pugne per magnum spacium diei insistendo et, dum crederet se per residuam exercitus partem adiuvari, deceptus est. Nam, cum ex altera parte ad pugnam plurimi ire crederentur, non tamen ad pugnam ibant, sed Tartaris ultro parum secedentibus illis per sui medium viam absque aliquali sagittarum emissionem dabant. Quare Hungari plures et plures tali via potiti ab exercitu se subtrahebant. Et, quanto plures transiebant, tanto latior via per Tartaros illis dabatur; et in tanto conflictu non erat rumor vel verbum aliquod inter eos. Et cum rex illos ad conflictum ire crederet, ipsi exibant ad fugam potius, quam ad pugnam. Tartari vero expectantes regis exercitum nullatenus se movebant. Et, cum iam de multis partibus exercitui regio exitus pateret, rex ab illis incognitus cum paucis viam

^a lassitudinem *A*

same in Cumania. But not now: the present was no way like the past. Nevertheless, a thousand warriors were deployed every night to guard the army. What more? The Tatars found a ford far from the army and crossed overnight; at dawn, they surrounded the entire royal army and started shooting arrows like a hailstorm. The Hungarians, being both disconcerted and outwitted by their ruse, armed and mounted their horses, but the soldiers could not find their commanders, the commanders their men and, when they set out to battle, they marched faintly and slackly. Arrows were shot into the air so densely that they almost covered the warriors in shadow and flew like locusts and grasshoppers that move in swarms. Unable to resist the shower of arrows, they returned to the camp. There the king was unable to set up battle lines. When the various parts of the Hungarian army went to battle in disarray, the Tatars opposed them with arrows and forced them to return to camp. Because of the great heat and crowded space, they were so exhausted that the king and the archbishop of Kalocsa, frightened and anxious, were unable to send them to fight with threats or blandishments and warnings, as they had been constrained from dawn till noon. Finally, when it seemed that their strength would altogether leave them, Prince Coloman, the king's brother, mustered what men he could in the crush and fought a very hard battle with the Tatars on one side of the encampment, fighting all day long. But he was disappointed in his hope that the rest of the army would come to his aid. They thought that most of the warriors were joining battle on the other flank of the army; yet they did not go to fight, because the Tatars stepped back a little and opened up among themselves a point of exit where they did not shoot. Therefore, ever more Hungarians left the army using this way; and the more that had left the wider the gap that the Tatars opened. No message, not a word, was passed among them in this great battle. While the king thought that they were going into battle, they were escaping rather than going to fight. The Tatars did not move, waiting for the king's troops. When the way was free on several sides for the royal troops, the king, unrecognized by them, found his way with a few followers to the

habuit versus silvam.¹ Dux autem Colomanus direxit per aliam partem exercitus suum iter die noctuque in equis plurimis usque ad dictam Pesth non per viam publicam, per quam Hungarica natio lubricabat, sed per devium laxatis equorum habenis ad portam Danubii festinabat² et, quamquam a burgensibus rogaretur, ut morulam faceret, quousque saltem pararentur naves ad transitum dominarum uxorum illorum, teneri tamen non potuit nec ad id induci; dicebat enim, quod de se quilibet cogitaret. Adventum enim persequentium metuens solus confestim transivit et fugit in Simigium ad quendam locum, qui dicitur Segusd.³ Et, licet burgenses de Pesth cum familia ad transitum festinarent, prius tamen supervenerunt Tartari et, qui non fuerunt in Danubio suffocati de burgensibus, extiterunt gladio interempti.

XXIX. DE FUGA EPISCOPI QUINQUEECCLESIENSIS.

Intuens autem Bartholomeus episcopus Quinqueecclesiensis⁴ destructionem exercitus et advertens, quod quidem de Tartaris exercitum irruentes castra plurima comburrerent, similiter non per viam publicam, sed per campum cum multis militibus fugam iniit. Et, cum pauci de Tartaris equos post eos mitterent pleno cursu, Ladislaus comes,⁵ qui ad regem multis vexillis extensis cum

¹ Roger's description of the battle, obviously based on reports from participants, though fragmentary, does not contradict the more detailed account of Thomas of Split (pp. 261–73). The latter must have received information from persons in the king's entourage who had escaped to Dalmatia. The reconstruction of the battle is everywhere based on these two accounts. Some other authors, likewise later and at second-hand, describe Batu's reluctance to engage the sizeable Hungarian army on the one hand and his threatening his warriors not to flee, on the other (see Göckenjan, *Mongolensturm*, n. 142, p. 210-1).

² There were three major ferries across the Danube in medieval Pest. One in the north (where today Káposztásmegyer lies), one at the foot of the island (now called St Margaret's), and one below St Gerald's Hill, called "of Pest." Coloman probably used the last of these. See further Katalin Szende, "Towns along the way: Changing patterns of long-distance trade and the urban network of medieval Hungary," in *Communication between Towns, Papers of the Meetings of the International Commis-*

forest.¹ Prince Coloman led his men another way and rushed with changed mounts towards the said Pest, to the ferry of the Danube,² not on the highway, where the Hungarian nation was slipping away, but on by-ways with reins dropped. And, although the citizens asked him to wait a little, at least until they had prepared boats to ferry their lady wives, they could not restrain him nor convince him of this; he said that everyone should look out for himself. Fearing his pursuers, he immediately crossed alone and ran to Somogy to a certain village called Segesd.³ Even though the citizens of Pest hurried to cross with their families, the Tatars caught up with them and those who did not drown in the Danube perished by the sword.

29 THE ESCAPE OF THE BISHOP OF PÉCS

Bishop Bartholomew, bishop of Pécs,⁴ seeing the destruction of the army and noticing that some Tatars were attacking the army and torching the camp at several points, took to flight with many of his warriors, similarly not by the highway but across the fields. When some Tatars sent their horses at full gallop after them, *ispán* Ladislas,⁵ who was hastening to the king with his troop under unfurled

sion for History of Towns, London July 13–14 2007, Lecce September 11–13 2008, ed. Hubert Houben and Kristjan Toomaspoeg, Università del Salento, Dipartimento dei Beni delle Arti e della Storia, Saggi e Testi (Lecce: Mario Congedo Editore, 2010), passim.

³ Segesd in southwestern Hungary was the center of a royal estate, at that time assigned to Prince Coloman. In May 1241, Coloman joined his brother in Zagreb, where he died from the wounds received at Muhi. He was buried in the Dominican nunnery of Ivanić-Grad.

⁴ Bartholomew, scion of a Burgundian noble family, came to Hungary in the train of Queen Jolanta, second wife of Béla IV. He is listed among the prelates who joined the king in Dalmatia (Thomas of Split, p. 293); see László Koszta, “Un prélat français en Hongrie: Bertalan évêque de Pécs (1219–1251),” *Cahiers d'études hongroises* 8 (1996), pp. 71–96.

⁵ Ladislas, the son of Gyula d.g. Kán (see above, n. 5, p. 142), was at that time *ispán* of County Somogy, and became count palatine in 1242. Thomas of Split also lists him (p. 293).

sua militia veniebat nil de gestis ipsis presciens, supervenit. Episcopus Hungarica vexilla cognoscens ad comitem declinavit, Tartari vero multitudinem advertentes abierunt retrorsum et alios insequi curaverunt et sic ipse comes cum episcopo abeuntes ab ipsorum manibus evaserunt.

XXX. DE EPISCOPIS ET ALIIS CLERICIS IN DICTO BELLO INTERFECTIS.

De fugientibus quoque per amplam viam versus Pesth et in exercitu remanentibus facta est tanta strages, tot milia sunt hominum interempta, quod estimatio fieri non valet nec referentibus fides propter innumeram cladem leviter adhibetur. Maiores tamen de clericis cecidere : Mathias Strigoniensis archiepiscopus,¹ quem rex tum propter fidelitatem, tum quia insimul nutriti erant, magis diligebat et eius consiliis magna sub confidentia in rebus arduis utebatur; Ugolinus Colocensis archiepiscopus nobilissima ortus prosapia² magna et ardua mundi negotia obmissis minimis disponens; hic erat, sub cuius fiducia nobiles Hungarie respirabant, hic erat, sub cuius fiducia maiores et mediocres humiles se reddebant; Gregorius^a episcopus Iauriensis,³ qui et nobilis fuit moribus et peritus scientia litterarum; Reynoldus Ultrasilvanus episcopus⁴ et Iacobus^b ecclesie Nitriensis episcopus, qui fuerat laudabilis vite et morum honestate preclarus;⁵ Nicolaus Scibiniensis prepositus regis vicecancellarius nobilibus natalibus ortus,⁶ qui unum de maioribus, antequam se necis necessitati subiceret, cruentato gladio iugulavit; Eradius archidiaconus Bachiensis; magister Albertus Strigoniensis archidiaconus, qui circa fluentia iuris prelatus alios meruit

^a Gregorius *Juh.*, Georgius *Ed.princ.*

^b Iacobus *Juh.*, *om. Ed.princ.*

¹ Matthias d.g. Rátót had been earlier (1225–36), as provost of Zagreb, chancellor of Prince and then King Béla, then bishop of Vác (1237–40) and finally bishop of Esztergom (1239–41).

flags, suddenly came upon them, knowing nothing of what had happened. The bishop, recognizing the Hungarian flags, turned to the *ispán*, and the Tatars, noticing the great numbers, retreated and pursued others. Thus the bishop, departing together with the *ispán*, escaped from their hands.

30 ON THE BISHOPS AND OTHER CLERICS KILLED IN THE SAID BATTLE

The slaughter among both those fleeing on the broad road towards Pest and those who stayed with the army was so enormous, so many thousand men perished, that one cannot estimate it nor can one very well trust reports as the loss was so huge. Among the major ecclesiastics these fell: Archbishop Matthias of Esztergom,¹ who was especially favored by the king and whose counsel he trusted much in important matters, for they grew up together and he was most faithful; Archbishop Ugolin of Kalocsa, scion of a most noble line,² who, setting aside minor matters was in charge of great and pressing secular business; it was in him that the Hungarian nobles had confidence and it was to him that both the great and less great men humbly gave their devotion; Bishop Gregory of Győr,³ noble in virtue and erudite in letters; Bishop Raynald of Transylvania,⁴ and James, the bishop of the church of Nitra, a man of laudable conduct and famous for the excellence of his morals;⁵ Provost Nicholas of Sibiu, vice-chancellor of the king of a noble kindred,⁶ who, before he submitted to inevitable death cut off the head of a Tatar chief; Eradius, archdeacon of Bács; and Master Albert, archdeacon

² According to tradition, the kindred Csák was related to the royal dynasty, which may explain the author's use of the superlative.

³ Of unknown genealogy, bishop from 1223.

⁴ Raynald, of French origin, was bishop from 1222.

⁵ James, of unknown origin, was bishop of Nitra from 1220.

⁶ Provost Nicholas (of unknown family) was vice-chancellor from 1240. This position became regular only later, when chancellors were selected from among the aristocrats and the actual writing office was headed by the *vicecancellarius*.

edocere.¹ Ipsorum quoque corpora diris mucronibus taliter sunt mactata, quod post recessum eorum, quanquam multum exquisita fuerint, nequierunt ullatenus reperiri. De numero vero laicorum maiorum et minorum, qui suffocati fuerunt paludibus et aquis, igne concremati et gladio interempti, nulli mortalium possit fieri certitudo. Nam per campos et vias iacebant corpora multorum mortuorum aliqua capite diminuta, aliqua frustatim^a divisa in villis et in ecclesiis, ad quas recursum habuerant, concremata. Hoc exitium, hec pernicies et hec strages tenebat duorum dierum itinera occupata totaque terra erat sanguine rubricata et existebant corpora super terram, sicut stant ad pascua per deserta greges pecorum, ovium et porcorum et sicut in lapacidinis secti lapides ad structuras. Habuit igitur aqua corpora mortalium suffocata; hec sunt a piscibus, a vermibus, ab avibus in aquis degentibus devorata. Terra illorum corporum dominium est adepta que occubuerunt venenatis lanceis, mucronibus et sagittis; hec sanguine cruentate celi aves et dentate bestie tam domestice quam silvestres morsu usque ad ossa nequissime corroserunt. Ignis illa tenuit, que cremata sunt in ecclesiis et in villis. Interdum ignem ex crematione huiusmodi pingua extinguebant. Hec consummi nequeunt modico temporis intervallo. Nam inveniuntur^b in locis plurimis usque ad tempora longiora ossa denigratis pellibus non consumptis involuta pro eo, quod quibusdem bestiis esce placite^c non existunt, nisi aliter destruantur. Cum autem in dominium trium elementorum universa corpora transivissent, videndum est, quid quarto relinquerunt elemento. Ad aerem igitur, qui quartum dicitur elementum, alia tria fetorem omnium corporum transmiserunt et sic ex fetore corruptus est et infectus, quod homines, qui per campos et vias et silvas ex vulneribus remanserunt semivivi, ex infectione aeris, qui forte vivere poterant, expiraverunt et sic aer huius crudelis exitii non est expers. De auro igitur et de argento, equis, armis, vestibibus et rebus aliis quid dicetur tot hominum, qui occubuerunt tam in prelio

^a frustatim *Ed.princ.*

^b inveniuntur *Ed.princ.*, inveniuntur *A*

^c placide *Ed.princ.*

of Esztergom, who being eminent in the sources of law was worthy to teach others.¹ Their bodies were so dismembered by horrible sabers that, though many searched for them, they could not be found after the retreat of the enemy. No mortal may have certain knowledge of the major and lesser laymen who drowned in the marshes and rivers, were consumed by fire, or perished by the sword. Many dead bodies lay on the fields and roads, some beheaded, some dismembered, burnt to death in the villages and churches to which they fled. This disaster, this devastation, this massacre occupied the roads for a distance of two days' walk and the whole earth was red with blood. Corpses lay around as common as flocks of cattle or sheep or pigs standing on open ground to pasture or like stones cut for a building in a quarry. The water had the drowned bodies; these were devoured by the fishes, worms and water fowl. The earth took possession of those who fell from poisoned lances, swords and arrows; they were gnawed away to the bone by flying birds red with blood and domestic or wild animals with sharp teeth. And fire got hold of those bodies that were burnt to death in the villages and churches. Sometimes the fat from such burnings even extinguished the fire so that these took a long time to be consumed. One will be able for a long time to find in many places charred bones wrapped in charred skin but not fully consumed, for these are not favored as food by any animals, unless they perished otherwise. So, as all the corpses became the possession of the three elements, let us see what remained for the fourth one. The air, held to be the fourth element, received the stench of the corpses from the three others; the air was so spoiled and poisoned by the stench that the wounded who remained half-alive in the fields, roads, and forests expired because of the poisoned air, though they might have otherwise survived. In this way, air also participated in this cruel ruin. What may be said of all the gold, silver, horses, arms, garments and other chat-

¹ The two last named clerks are not known from any other source.

quam in fuga. Equi cum sellis et^a frenis sine sessoribus per prata et nemora discurrebant et ex strepitu erant facti adeo furibundi, quod insanire penitus videbantur, et sic eos territos, cum nequirent proprios dominos reperire, oportebat aut mori gladio aut subicere se dominio exteriorum, quorum hinnitus haberi poterat pro gemitu atque fletu. Argentea quoque vasa et aurea, serice vestes et alia hominibus oportuna per campos et silvas a fugientibus proiecta, ut ipsi velociori cursu manus insequentium evaderent, non habebant aliquos collectores. Tartaris tantum interfectionibus hominum insistentibus de spoliis minime curare videbantur.

XXXI, QUOMODO TARTARI HABITA
VICTORIA SPOLIA DIVISERUNT ET QUOMODO
INVENTO REGIS SIGILLO FICTICIAS LITTERAS
SCRIPSERUNT.

Habita de tanto exercitu victoria et triumpho captaque depredatione huiusmodi cum tumultu et vestimentis mixtis sanguine, equis, auro et argento effusa rubigine rubricatis tanquam congeries lapidum et acervis frugum insimul adunatis ad divisionem et ad partitionem eorum herus cum elegantioribus de Tartaris ex partitione huiusmodi subsecuta reperto sigillo regis penes cancellarium cuius caput a corpore diro mucrone demerant, iam confisi de terra et timentes, ne populi profligatione regis audita manus per fugam effugerent eorundem, deligenter advertite astutiam, quam fecerunt. Primo totam Hungariam ultra Danubium¹ dimiserunt et assignaverunt unicuique de maioribus Tartarorum regibus, qui adhuc Hungariam non intraverant,² partem suam significando eis rumores et quod festinarent, quia iam eis obstaculum nullum erat. Et fecerunt scribi per quosdam clericos Hungaros, quos adhuc ad vitam servaverant, maioribus omnibus et popularibus per totam

^a et *A, om. Ed.princ.*

¹ That is, the area east of the Danube, not the area to the west that was later and is still called 'Transdanubia' (Dunántúl).

tels of those who fell in battle or in flight? Horses ran around in the fields and groves with saddle and bridle but without riders, and were so panicked by the noise that they seemed to have gone mad. The terrified animals, unable to find their masters, had to perish by the sword or fall into the hands of others. Their neighing sounded like groaning or crying. The gold and silver vessels, silk garments and other useful things that were thrown away by those in flight on the roads, in the fields and in the woods in order to get away faster from their pursuers were not even collected. The Tatars were [at that time] concerned only with slaying people and seemed to care little for loot.

31 HOW THE TATARS DIVIDED THE BOOTY AFTER THEIR VICTORY AND HOW THEY WROTE FALSE LETTERS HAVING FOUND THE KING'S SEAL

Having won a victory and triumph over such a great army, they began in great tumult to recover the loot and piled up like cairns or haystacks the garments soiled by blood, the horses, and the gold and silver, red with blood. Then the lord and the higher ranking men of the Tatars assembled to share and divide the booty. At the subsequent distribution of it, they found the king's seal with the chancellor, whose head had been severed from his body by a horrible sword. Listen what kind of ruse they invented, once they felt assured of the land, for fear that people, hearing of the defeat of the king, would run away and escape their clutches! First they set aside Hungary beyond the Danube¹ and assigned their share to all of the chief kings of the Tatars who had not yet arrived in Hungary.² They sent word to them on the news and to hurry as there was no longer any obstacle before them. And they made a few Hungarian clerks, whom they left alive, write letters in the name of the

² The division of war-booty was strictly regulated among the Mongols and supervised by a special officer appointed for the purpose.

Hungariam existentibus sub nomine regis multa varia ficticia litterarum sub hac forma : Canum feritatem et rabiem non timeatis nec vestris de domibus vos movere audeatis; licet enim propter quandem improvisionem tum castra tum tentoria relinquerimus, paulatim tamen deo nobis propitio eadem recuperare intendimus contra illos prelium virtuosum instaurantes; unde tantum orationi vacetis, ut misericors deus adversariorum nostrorum capita nobis permittat malleari. Hee fuerunt littere per quosdam Hungaros, qui iam eis adhererant, destinate, qui me ac totam Hungariam destruxerunt. Nam tantam illarum certitudini litterarum fidem dedimus, quod, licet omni die contrarium cerneretur, tamen, quia in terra illico guerrarum turbatio supervenit, ob hoc ad sciendum rumores nuncios mittere nullatenus poteramus contrariumque credere nequibamus. Et sic Hungaria occupata viam non potuit habere fugiendi. Sed, quia processum regis dimisimus indiscussum, revertamur ad progressum suum vel, quod verius est, ad egressum.

XXXII. QUID FECIT REX BELA POST
DEBELLATIONEM SUI EXERCITUS ET
QUALITER PER DUCEM AUSTRIE CAPTUS
FUIT PARITER ET SPOLIATUS.

Ipso itaque rege de exercitu profugato die noctuque cum paucissimis versus confinia Polonie habuit iter suum et inde directo tramite, ut reginam posset attingere, que in confinio Austrie morabatur, quantum poterat, properabat. Dux Austrie hoc audito iniqua in corde concipiens contra eum sub nomine amicitiae obviis sibi fuit. Sed rex armis exutus, dum prandium pararetur, modico temporis intervallo somnii quietem capescebat^a iuxta aquam, utpote qui solo nutu dei evaserat inter tot diras sagittas et gladios venenatos et tam longum fuerat iter suum; qui excitatus a somno, cum ducem vidit, letatus est valde. Dux autem regem inter alia consola-

^a somnii quietem capescebat *A, F*, vellet somnii quietem capescere *Ed.princ.*

king to the nobles and commoners living in Hungary with these words: "Do not fear the ferocity and madness of the hounds and do not dare to leave your houses, because, although on account of some unforeseen circumstances we had to leave behind the camp and our tents, yet by the favor of God we intend gradually to recover them and fight a valiant battle against the Tatars; therefore, do nothing except pray that merciful God may permit us to crush the head of our enemies." This letter was carried around to the addressees by some Hungarians who had joined the Tatars. This ruined me and all Hungary, because we gave credit to the truth of the letter and, although we beheld the very opposite every day, we could not send out scouts to ascertain the truth, for the country had been hit all at once by the confusion of war. Thus, occupied Hungary could not find a way to escape. But we left aside the matter of the king, so let us now return to his progress, or more correctly, his departure.

32 WHAT KING BÉLA DID AFTER
THE DEFEAT OF HIS ARMY, AND HOW
THE DUKE OF AUSTRIA CAPTURED
AND DESPOILED HIM

Having escaped from the camp, the king turned with a few men towards the border of Poland whence he hurried on the shortest route, as fast as he could, to reach the queen who was staying at the border of Austria. Thereupon the duke of Austria, bearing evil in his heart, went to meet him under the guise of friendship. The king, who had escaped only by the will of God all the dreadful arrows and poisoned swords and had traveled so far, laid down his arms and wanted to find a little rest in sleep at the riverside while a meal was being prepared. Woken up, he beheld the duke and was very glad. The duke asked the king, with words of solace, to cross the Danube, as he might stay and rest there in greater safety. Hearing this, the king, innocently suspecting no evil, followed the duke's words. The duke said that on the other side he had a

toria verba petiit, ut Danubium transiret, ut ibidem securius quiescere et morari posset. Rex vero his auditis tanquam innocens nihil mali suspicatus dictis ducis aquievit. Dicebat enim dux se castrum ex altera parte habere et ibidem regem melius honorare posse, cum tamen in animo non honorare, sed confundere illum habebat propositum. Et cum rex Scillam vitare crederet, incidit in Caribdim et, sicut piscis volens vitare frixorium, ne frigatur, ad assandum proicit se ad prunas credens malum effugere, invenit nequius. Nam dux Austrie asturia excogitata cum rege suum ad libitum potitus extitit, ab eo quandam pecunie quantitatem, quam dicebat olim ab eo regem extorsisse,¹ repetiit. Quid plura? Rex manus illius evadere nequivit, quousque partem eiusdem pecunie in prompto, partem in vasis aureis et argenteis illi persolvit, pro parte autem tres comitatus sui regni illius terre contiguos illi obligavit.² Et, licet ipsa vasa aurea et argentea maioris fuerint estimationis, tamen dux illa solum in duobus milibus marcarum³ simul cum lapidibus pretiosis recepit. Dux autem illico castrorum illorum comitatus corporali possessione est adeptus et illa ex propriis pecuniis contra Tartaros fecit reparare. Si queratur, quanta fuit pecunie quantitas, est ignotum, nam alii de septem, quidam de novem, ceteri de decem marcarum milibus referebant. Sed de veritate liquere non poterat, quia secrete contractus fecerant et firmaverant propriis iuramentis. Quibus expeditis ad reginam, que non multum distabat, quantum potuit, festinavit et una cum ipsa sine tractu more Stephanum Waciensem episcopum⁴ ad imperialem et Romanam curiam pro subsidio destinavit et interim circa Segesdinum⁵ cum illis, quos aggregare potuit, moram traxit.

¹ The reference is most likely to the reparation payment imposed on the duke in the peace concluded after the Austro-Hungarian conflict in the summer of 1235 (still under Andrew II).

² The exact extent of the pledge is not known, but most likely included the counties Moson and Sopron, and the castle estate of Lutzmansburg (Hung.: Locsmánd).

castle, where he could honor the king better, while he contrived not to honor but to ruin him. Then, when the king thought he had avoided Scylla, he was caught by Charybdis and, like the fish trying to avoid being fried in the pan that jumps into the embers and gets roasted, in order to avoid the bad he came to worse. When the duke of Austria had by this invented ruse brought the king under his will he demanded from him a certain sum of money which he said that the king had earlier extorted from him.¹ What more? The king could not escape from him until he had paid that money, partly in cash, partly in gold and silver vessels, and pledged him three counties of his country, adjacent to his land.² Although the gold and silver vessels were worth much more, the duke accepted them for a mere two thousand marks, including the precious stones.³ Then the duke at once took actual possession of the castles of the counties and had them fortified from his own money against the Tatars. If someone should ask, how much the ransom was, that is not known, for some spoke of seven, other nine, and many of ten thousand marks, but the truth cannot be discerned, because the contract was made in secret and confirmed by their oaths. Then the king hastened to the queen, who was nearby, and without delay sent her, together with Bishop Stephen of Vác,⁴ to the imperial court and the Roman Curia for help, while he, with those he could assemble around him, stayed in the neighborhood of Segesd.⁵

³ A Hungarian mark in this time was worth ca. 233.35 g of silver.

⁴ See above, n. 2, p. 160. His presence at the court of Frederick II is mentioned in the emperor's letter of 3 July 1241 (Matthew Paris, *Chron. maj.*, 4, 114). It is unlikely that Queen Mary had joined him.

⁵ In fact, the king passed through Segesd (where the queen was waiting for him) and stayed in the neighborhood of Zagreb, before turning further south.

XXXIII. QUOMODO DUX AUSTRIE SPOLIAVIT
FUGITIVOS HUNGAROS ET DE INSULTU
THEUTUNORUM IN HUNGARIAM FACTA.

Dux prospecto iam, quod Hungari essent unanimiter in fuga, sibi multos milites aggregavit eos contra Hungaros in Hungariam transmittendo et sic Tartari ex illa parte Danubii destruebant et ex ista Theutonici depredabantur; villas, prout poterant, comburrebant ita, quod civitatem Iauriensem intrantes castrum ceperunt et illud molliti sunt per violentiam optinere. Hungari vero de partibus illis convenientes^a in unum ad civitatem manu armata euntes civitatem ceperunt et omnes in castro Theutonicos cremaverunt. Dux nimio furore repletus propter hoc candescens^b contra Hungaros fugientes a facie Tartarorum, quos in Austria colligerat et quibus fidem promiserat, non contentus de eo, quod regi fecerat, petiit ab eis pro castrorum et civitatum custodia quandam pecunie quantitatem. Et sic hac occasione inventa, cum tam Theutonici quam Hungari essent multum divites in pecunia et rebus,¹ eos usque ad extremam exinanitionem nequiter spoliavit et miseri Hungari devorabantur ubique *morsu amarissimo*² a sevis bestiis dentatis et postmodum nudi *in aridam* proiiciebantur et *vomebantur*.³ Sed his expeditis referamus de regibus Tartarorum, qui postmodum Hungariam intraverunt.

^a convenientes *A*, consequentes *Ed.princ.*

^b candescens *A*, scandescens *Ed.princ.*

33 HOW THE DUKE OF AUSTRIA DESPOILED THE HUNGARIAN REFUGEES, AND OF THE INCURSION OF THE GERMANS INTO HUNGARY

The duke, seeing that all the Hungarians had taken flight, collected a number of soldiers and sent them to Hungary against the Hungarians, so that while the Tatars were raging on the one side of the Danube, the Germans looted the other. They burned as many villages as they could, marched into the city of Győr, seized the castle and planned to hold it by force. The Hungarians of the region gathered together and moved in arms to the castle, took it and burnt all the Germans in it. The duke became very angry because of this and turned against the Hungarians escaping from the Tatars, whom he had assembled in Austria and to whom he had promised trust, and, not satisfied with what he extorted from the king, he demanded a certain amount of money from them for the defense of the castles and towns. On this pretext he wickedly despoiled them to the last penny, as both the Germans¹ and Hungarians had plenty of money and chattels. And the hapless Hungarians were everywhere devoured *by a most bitter bite*² by the sharp teeth of wild animals and then thrown forth and *disgorged* naked *upon the shore*.³ But having dealt with this let us now report on the kings of the Tatars who later marched into Hungary.

¹ The reference is most likely to the rich German burghers of western Hungarian cities who had fled to Austria.

² Deut. 32.24

³ Jonah 2.11.

XXXIV. QUOMODO TARTARI WARADIENSEM
CIVITATEM EXPUGNAVERUNT
ET QUOMODO AMPLIUS AD PONTEM
THOME ET ALIAS PROCESSERUNT.

Cadan rex, ut in alia parte dictum est, Rudana expugnata et capto Aristaldo comite elegantiores sexcentos armatos Theutonicos elegit, qui sub iurisdictione dicti comitis extiterunt. Hiis prestantibus ducatum Tartaris per silvas et nemora, rupes et precipitia prope Waradinum civitatem subito advenerunt. Et quia civitas multum erat in Hungaria nominata, undique illac nobiles tam domine quam mulieres populares innumerabiles convenerant. Et, licet episcopus cum quibusdam canonicis exinde recessisset, ego tamen cum remanentibus eram ibi. Et, cum castrum ex una parte dirutum cerneretur, amplo muro illud fecimus reparari, ut si civitatem defendere non possemus, ad castrum refugium haberemus. Et, cum uno dierum subito advenissent et esset in civitate sub quodam dubio mora mea, castrum intrare nolui, sed auffugi in silvam; diu, prout potui, latitavi. Ipsi tamen subito civitatem capientes et pro maiori parte comburrentes tandem nihil extra muros castri penitus dimiserunt et receptis spoliis tam viros quam feminas minores et maiores interfecerunt in plateis, domibus et campis. Quid plura? Non pepercerunt sexui vel aetati. Quibus peractis subito exinde recesserunt et omnia in recessu receperunt et longe a castro se per quinque militaria posuerunt et ad castrum per multos dies nullatenus accesserunt sic, quod illi de castro cogitabant eos propter castri fortitudinem recessisse. Nam magnis munitum erat fossatis et turribus ligneis super muros et multi loricati milites erant ibi ita, quod, dum Tartari ad respiciendum interdum accederent, milites Hungari velociori cursu eos insequi procurabant. Et, cum plurimis diebus ad castrum non accederent et crederetur, quod ex toto exinde recessissent, milites et alii, qui in castro erant, de recessu eorum habentes fiduciam castrum quam plurimi exierunt et domos, que remanserant extra castrum, ceperunt communiter habitare. Et sic in aurora eos Tartari, qui ubi essent, nescire poterant, invadentes magnam ipsorum partem, qui nequiverunt ad castrum fugere,

34 HOW THE TATARS TOOK ORADEA
BY STORM
AND HOW THEY PRESSED
ON TO TĂMAȘDA AND BEYOND

As we said before, King Qadan, having taken Rodna and captured *ispán* Aristald, selected the best six hundred armed Germans who were under the said *ispán*. Guided by them, they crossed forests, woods, rocks and gorges and arrived beneath the city of Oradea. The city was very famous in Hungary, therefore many nobles, ladies and peasant women had gathered there. Even though the bishop had left with some of the canons, I stayed there with the remaining people. We had the castle, which we saw damaged on one side, repaired with a strong wall, so that we could find refuge there should we be unable to defend the city. But when one day the Tatars suddenly arrived and my situation in the city was precarious, I did not want to go to the castle, but ran away into the forest and hid there as long as I could. They, however, suddenly took the city and burnt down most of it and left nothing outside the walls of the castle. Having collected the booty, they killed men and women, commoners and nobles alike, on the streets, houses, and fields. What more? They pardoned neither sex nor age. That done, they suddenly retreated, gathered up everything in the retreat, and settled at five miles from the castle. They did not return for days, and those in the castle thought that they had left because of the strength of the castle that was protected by a deep moat and wooden towers on the walls; there were many armored warriors there, and whenever the Tatars came scouting from time to time, the Hungarian warriors chased them on fast horses. When the Tatars did not come to the castle for several days and everyone thought that they had completely withdrawn from there, many of the warriors and others who were in the castle, confident that they had withdrawn, left the castle and moved together into the houses that still remained outside of it. Then, one day at dawn, the Tatars, whose whereabouts they could not know, rushed upon them and killed most of those who did not manage to flee to the castle. Then they immediately sur-

necaverunt et castrum illico circumdantes ex opposito ad murum novum septem machinas posuerunt et die noctuque cum eis emit-tere lapides, quousque novus murus dirutus est ex toto, nullatenus cessaverunt et turribus dirutis atque muris congressum dederunt et castro per violentiam occupato ceperunt milites et canonicos et alios, qui non fuerunt in occupatione castris gladio interempti. Domine vero, domicelle et puelle nobiles se in ecclesiam kathedralem recipere voluerunt. Ipsi vero Tartari fecerunt arma a militibus sibi dari et per tormenta durissima, quicquid habuerunt, a canonicis extorserunt. Et, quia kathedralem ecclesiam subito intrare nequiverunt, igne appposito ecclesiam et dominas et quicquid erat in ecclesia, combusserunt. In aliis vero ecclesiis tot scelera de mulieribus patrabant, quod tutius est subticere, ne homines ad nequissima instruantur. Nobiles, cives, milites et canonici extra civitatem in campo fuerunt omnes sine aliqua pietate iugulati. Post hec sanctorum sepulcra totaliter everterunt et pedibus sceleratis reliquias calcaverunt,¹ turribula, cruces et calices aureos et vasa aurea et alia dedita ad altaris ministeria comminuerunt. Introducebant in ecclesias mixtim viros et mulieres et post turpem^a illorum abusionem easdem ibidem necabant. Postquam autem omnia eversa sunt et fetor intollerabilis procederet ex corporibus defunctorum, exinde recesserunt et tantum locus solus remansit. Homines, qui per silvas circumpositas latitabant, convenerunt ibidem, ut aliqua comestibilia invenirent. Et, cum verterent lapides et corpora mortuorum, Tartari subito sunt reversi et vivum de viventibus, quos ibi reperiebant, neminem dimiserunt. Et sic usque ad extremum fiebant quotidie nove strages^b. Et, cum plures interficere non haberent, ex toto abinde recesserunt. Nos vero, qui in silvis inter indagines morabamur, de nocte fugam inivimus versus Pontem Thome magnam Theutonicorum villam super fluvium Crisii positam.² Sed Theutonici nos transire per pontem nullatenus permiserunt, immo institerunt quamplurimi, ut una cum eisdem villam eorum bene munitam defendere deberemus. Quod plurimum displicebat. Tamen ad quan-

^a turpem *A*, turbem *Ed.princ.*

^b strages *A*, strarges *Ed.princ.*

rounded the fortification, set up seven siege engines across from the new wall and bombarded it ceaselessly with stones day and night until the new wall collapsed totally. They did not stop at all, and with the towers and walls demolished the castle was taken by storm. They seized the warriors, canons, and others who had not been killed by the sword in the attack. The ladies, damsels and noble girls tried to escape into the cathedral. The Tatars ordered the warriors to hand over their weapons and from the canons they extorted by the cruelest tortures all that they owned. Because they could not easily enter the cathedral, they set fire to it and burnt the church, together with the women and whatever there was in the church. In other churches they perpetrated such crimes to the women that it is better to keep silent lest people get ideas for most evil deeds. Then they ruthlessly beheaded the nobles, citizens, soldiers and canons on a field outside the city. They violated the saints' graves,¹ trampled upon the relics with their sinful feet, smashed to pieces the censers, crosses, golden chalices and vessels, and whatever else was designed for the service of the altar. They dragged men and women alike into the churches and shamefully mistreated and then killed them there. After they had destroyed everything, and an intolerable stench arose from the corpses, they left the place empty. People hiding in the nearby forests came back to find some food. And while they were searching among the stones and the corpses, the Tatars suddenly returned and of those living whom they found there, none was left alive. And this slaughter was repeated day after day. They finally left for good only when there was no one else to kill. We, who stayed in the forest among the border obstacles, took flight at night towards Tâmaşda, a large German village on the Criş River.² But the Germans did not let us cross the bridge, instead many of them insisted that we had to defend their fortified city together with them, which didn't please us at all. So we turned off to an island, which was being well fortified by the people from Adea,

¹ The most venerated grave in Oradea was that of King St Ladislas.

² Hungarian Tamáshida, German Thomasbrücke, was a major "Saxon" settlement (of privileged German *hospites*) around the bridge across the Crişul Negru River.

dam divertimus insulam, que contra Tartaros per homines de Agya et waidam de Geroth¹ et de pluribus aliis circumiacentibus villis fortiter parabatur. Cum ultra procedere non auderem, cepi ad procuratoris² et omnium loci illius instantiam moram ibidem trahere cum eisdem. Nam nullus in pretactam insulam intrare poterat, nisi per quandam viam artissimam et minutam, ita, quod per miliare in illa via tres porte cum turribus facte erant et preter has erant ad miliare fortissime indagines circumquaque. Et cum ita munitum locum adverterem, placuit mihi et remansi. Sed consuetudo insule illa erat, quod ingressum prebebat singulis, sed regressum omnibus denegabat. Et, cum aliquibus diebus cum mea familia essem, per exploratores nostros percepimus, quod propius Tartari veniebant. Exivi secrete insulam, ut viderem, quomodo equos poteramus conservare, et uno ductore conducto et uno serviente, quorum quilibet nostrum tres equos habebat, de nocte versus Chanadinum civitatem super fluvium Morisii positam,³ que distabat ab illo loco ad octo miliaria, properavimus. Et, cum per totam noctem iremus, quantum equi poterant nos portare, in aurora pervenimus Chanadinum.⁴ Sed precedenti die a Tartaris, qui per aliam partem intraverant Hungariam,⁵ captum fuerat et destructum; partes illas totaliter occupaverunt ita, quod fluvium nequivimus pertransire. Et, cum equi lassi essent et homines huc illuc de partibus illis se absconderent, retrocedere nullo modo poteramus et sic in quibusdam domiculis equis dimissis in quibusdam foveis illo die nos oportuit latitare. Adveniente tandem nocte ad locum pristinum^a non sine difficultate nimia cepimus in timore transire per medium Tartarorum curvatoque supercilio cum pudore in-

^a pristinum *A*, prestinum *Ed.princ.*

¹ While the Latin is not quite clear, it seems that the reference is to three villages (Hung.: Ágya, Vajda, Gerót) that were settlements in medieval County Zaránd, ca. 50 km south of Oradea. The island must have been one in the flood land of the Crişul Alb River.

² It is unclear what kind of local office-holder Roger refers to as *procurator*.

³ Cenad (Hung.: Csanád) was called Urbs Morisena in the eleventh century, when it became an episcopal see with St Gerald as its first bishop. Around 1036, he removed the Greek monks and founded a Latin monastery. It received its name (according to

Voivodeni, Iermata,¹ and other surrounding villages. Since I dared not go on, I stayed with them upon the request of the headman² and all the people of that place. For no one could enter the said island save by one very narrow and small way with three gates and towers within one mile and all around strong obstacles for a mile. When I realized that this place was so well fortified, I liked it and stayed there. The custom on the island was that anyone could come in but no one was allowed to leave. When I had been there for a few days with my servants, our scouts reported that the Tatars were approaching. I secretly went out from the island to find out how we could save our horses. I hired a guide and a servant—each of us leading three horses—and hastened by night to the city of Cenad on the Mureș River,³ eight miles from the island. As we were riding all night as fast as our horses could carry us, at dawn we reached Cenad.⁴ But a day before, it had been taken and destroyed by the Tatars who had entered Hungary from the other side.⁵ The whole region was occupied, so we could not cross the river. And, since our horses were tired and people from the region were hiding here and there, we could in no way return. We left our horses in some huts and hid for the day in some pits. At nightfall, we crept back amidst the Tatars with great difficulty and fear to the old place and entered the island, eyes downcast, and ashamed. While we were in such danger, my servants, who were guarding the horses outside and some others, who were with me fled from the island with all my money and clothing. The Tatars caught them in flight and cut them down, while I remained with one servant and almost naked on the

the legends of St Gerald) from the county's first *ispán*, Csanád. After the Mongol destruction, its cathedral and castle were rebuilt; King Ladislas IV (grandson of Béla IV) was buried in the cathedral in 1290. The present-day settlement is at some distance from the former city.

⁴ The distance of eight miles compared to a whole night's ride is somewhat problematic unless Roger counted German miles, which would have made the distance some 60 km. But, as the location of the island is unknown, nothing more can be said of this apparent contradiction.

⁵ The detachments under Bogutai (or Böyek?) reached Cenad from the south (probably coming through the Mehadia Pass) before the arrival of the troops of Qadan, coming from the northeast.

sulam reintravimus. Et, cum in tali periculo moraremur, servientes mei, qui ad^a equos exterius vigilabant et alii, qui mecum erant, cum pecunia, quam habebam, et vestibus de insula auffugerunt et in fuga inventi per Tartaros sunt gladio interempti me cum uno serviente quasi nudo in insula permanente. Post hec statim invalere rumores, quod dictum Pontem Thome Theutonicorum villam¹ in aurora Tartari occupaverunt et, quos tenere noluerant, horrenda crudelitas acerbatis gladio dire iugulavit. Quo audito inorrerunt pili carnis mee, cepit corpus tremere ac pavere, lingua miserabiliter balbutire perspicens, quod dire mortis articulus, qui iam vitari non poterat, imminebat. Trucidatores cordis oculis intuebar, caro sudorem^b mortis frigidissimum emittebat. Videbam et mortales mortem expectantes assidue non posse manus ad^c arma extendere, erigere brachia, pedes ad deffensionis loca movere, oculis terram prospicere. Et quid plura? Homines conspiciebam ex timore nimio semivivos. Et cum essem in extasi positus, affuit mihi misericordia Iesu Christi et tanquam unus de maioribus, ut melius et more stalico^d muniremur,² insule populum convocavi. Cuius rei occasione cum populo sum egressus insulam et acceptis duobus pueris procuratoris et hospitis mei filiis et unico serviente, qui mihi remanserat, longius ire simulans in silva inter indagines latitavi puerorum patri renunciens, quod propter timorem nolebam insulam reintrare et cogitans, quod, si mecum absconsos suos tenerem filios, ipse mihi necessaria transmitteret.³ Et, cum summo diluculo victualia mitterentur, illico Tartari advenerunt insulam circumdantes. Et, cum darent intelligere, quod vellent per aquam insulam expugnare, populus insule deceptus ad protegendum illas partes flexus est. Tartari vero ex alia parte in portas presidio nudatas irruentes illas expugnarunt et in insulam intrantes non invenerunt aliquem de nostris, qui sagittam emitteret vel in equo et pedibus obviis illis foret. Que et qualia, quot et quanta iniqua ibi et crudelia perpetraverunt, non solum visui essent terribilia, sed perhorrescerent ho-

^a ad A, om. *Ed.princ.*

^b sudorem A, sudore *Ed.princ.*

^c ad A, et *Ed.princ.*

island. Not much later, the news came that the Tatars had taken at dawn the said Tămaşda, the village of the Germans,¹ and all those whom they did not keep alive were beheaded by the sword with horrendous cruelty. Hearing this, my hair stood on end, my body shivered with fear, my tongue stuttered miserably, for I saw that the inevitable moment of dreadful death was menacing me. I already beheld my murderers in my mind's eye; my body exuded the cold sweat of death. I also saw human beings, when earnestly expecting death, unable to grab weapons, raise their arms, move their steps to places of safety, or survey the land with their eyes. What more? I saw people half dead of fear. I was also beside myself, but the mercy of Jesus Christ was with me and as one of those of higher estate, I called the people of the island together so that we be better protected and in the *stalic* way.² Then, I left together with the people and, taking two children, the sons of the headman, my host, and the only servant I still had, I hid among the border obstacles, pretending to go deeper into the forest. I sent word to the father of the children that I was afraid to return to the island, thinking that if I kept and hid his sons, he would send over necessities to us.³ When at the break of dawn the victuals were sent, the Tatars suddenly arrived and surrounded the island. They gave out that that they would attack the island from the water; thus, the island's people were tricked into defending it from that side. The Tatars, however, stormed the unguarded gates on the other side, seized them, and took the island without any of us having shot an arrow or engaging them on horseback or on foot. Not only was it horrible to see which, how many and how great crimes and what cruel deeds they perpetrated there, but even to hear it would make people recoil in terror. They took all the booty and left only the stripped corpses of

^d *Italico eds.; et stalico more om. A.*

¹ See above, n 2 on p. 201.

² The unknown word *stalic* was changed by editors to *Italico*. However, it is unclear what the "Italian way" would mean. Göckenjan (*Mongolensturm*, p. 216) and others suggested that it is a euphemism for "flight," but we did not find any proof for such a meaning of the word.

³ Surprisingly, there is no further mention of the children.

mines адаудире. Et exinde spoliis asportatis denudata mulierum et hominum corpora quedam frustatim^a divisa, quedam integra remanserunt. Et, cum plurimi, qui latitaverant, opinarentur eos post diem tertium recessisse, pro aquirendis victualibus recursum ad insulam habuerunt et occupati a Tartaris, qui se ibi absconderant, paucissimi evaserunt. Ego vero per silvas tanquam profugus omnium destitutus auxilio mendicabam et, cui magna donaveram, vix mihi elemosinam porrigebat ita, quod necessitate famis et sitis me acrius perurgente de nocte compellebar intrare insulam et corpora evertere mortuorum, ut sepultam farinam et carnes ad esum mihi vel aliud comestibile invenirem, et de nocte, quicquid inveniebam, id ad silvas longius asportabam. O *attendite et videte*,¹ quam illa pessima vita erat. Post decimum vel vigesimum diem intravi insulam evertere corpora mortuorum. Quantus ibi poterat esse luctus, quantus ibi poterat esse fetor, quantus poterat esse timor, advertite. Non est homo, ut opinor, qui tantis in animum reductis penarum generibus non terreretur^b quisque eisdem penis consideratis. Oportebat me invenire cavernas vel foveas facere vel arbores querere perforatas, in quibus me possem recipere, cum illi densitatem veprium, opaca nemorum, aquarum profunda, intima^c solitudinum tanquam canes lepores et apros investigantes percurrere videbantur. Silvas has per mensem et amplius quesierunt et, cum per ipsa loca populos nequirent interimere universos, se ad novum genus fraudis taliter converterunt.

XXXV. QUOMODO TARTARI ILLOS, QUI SE IN SILVIS ABSCONDERANT, DECEPERUNT.

Ceperunt aliquos per silvas latitantes et eosdem sub hac voce miserunt, quod quisquis vellet ad fidem eorum se dare, securus reditus infra certum terminum ad propria venire daretur ei. Quorum verbis,

^a frustatim *Ed.princ.*

^b terreretur *A*, tereretur *Ed.princ.*

^c intima *A*, nimia *Ed.princ.*

men and women, some cut into pieces, some not. When very many people who had hidden thought after three days that the Tatars had withdrawn, and returned to the island to find food, the Tatars, who were concealed there, caught them and only very few escaped. I, meanwhile, as a fugitive, abandoned of help by all, went begging in the forest and those to whom I had in the past given great donations, barely gave me alms. When hunger and thirst pained me too much, I was forced to go to the island at night, overturning corpses to look for hidden flour or meat or some other foodstuff. Whatever I could find, I took it deep into the forest. Oh, *attend and see*,¹ what a miserable life that was! After ten or twenty days, I again went to the island and turned over the bodies of the dead. Behold what grief there was, what stench, what fear! I think no one, however much he imagines all types of suffering, would not shudder at this suffering. I had to seek caves, excavate pits, or find hollow trees to have shelter, while the Tatars, like hounds tracking rabbits and boars, rushed through the thick of the thorn bushes, the shadows of the groves, the depths of the waters and the heart of the wasteland. They searched the forests for a month or more, and, since they could not slay everyone there, they invented a new trick, as follows.

35 HOW THE TATARS TRICKED THOSE WHO WERE HIDING IN THE FORESTS.

They captured some who were hiding in the forest and sent them out with the message that whoever gave himself up to their trust before a set deadline would be allowed to return home safely. Because they were already dying for lack of food, they fully believed their words and so all who were there returned to their homes. And since these forests are vast and innumerable people hid there,

¹ Lam. 1.12

cum homines iam propter victualium penuriam morerentur, totaliter crediderunt et sic omnes, qui remanserant, ad domos proprias sunt reversi. Et, cum silve magne essent, erat adhuc populus infinitus, qui latitabat, ita, quod ad tres dietas terra facta est populosa et quelibet villa elegit sibi regem de Tartaris, quem optavit. Quo facto cum essent tempora messium, fruges unanimiter collegerunt et eas ac stramina et fenum et alia ad horrea congregabant. Stabant nobiscum Tartari et Comani simul, videbant quamplurimi et gaudebant, letabantur, quod patres per filias, mariti per uxores, fratres per sorores pulcras vitam redimebant illas ad libitum eorum conservantes et pro quodam^a illis fiebat solatio, ut in conspectu patris vel mariti uxor vel filia stupratur. Constituerunt caneseos,¹ id est, balimos^b, qui iustitiam facerent et eis equos, animalia, arma, exennia et vestimenta utilia procurarent. Et sic procurator meus² de istis dominis erat unus et pene mille villas regebat et erant canesii fere centum.³ Pacem habebamus et fora iustaque unicuiques iustitia servabatur. Eis mittebantur pulcerrime puellarum, sed oves, boves vel equos ductores pro tali exennio reducebant. Conveniebant canesii pene qualibet septimana. Ego vero sepius, ut vitam eorum aspicerem et aliquos de maioribus noscerem et ut addiscerem, si via redemptionis aliqua se offerret, ad eos cum meo canesio accedebam. Quadam vice preceperunt omnes canesii in mandatis, ut de certis villis homines et mulieres puerique simul cum muneribus in eorum presentiam venirent. Timebamus de hoc rumore non modicum causam rei penitus ignorantes. Elegi igitur potius cum ipsis canesiis ad exercitum ire, quam sub tali dubio in villa remanere.⁴ Quare nudi et discalciati ad custodiam curruum in quibusdam tentoriis Hungarorum, qui iam Tartari in suis operibus effecti erant,⁵ remansimus. Canesii vero ad recipienda munera accesserunt, qui muneribus receptis omnes presentantes in quandam vallem duxerunt enormiterque spoliatos et denudatos ibidem interfecerunt.

^a quodam *A*, quadam *Ed.princ.*

^b balimos *Ed.princ.*, balivos *S*

¹ See above, n. 4 to p. 171.

² It is unclear to whom Roger refers here.

the land in an area of three days' walk came to be repopulated and every village chose its king from among the Tatars at its will. After this, all brought in the crops, as it was harvest time, including the hay and the straw and everything else to be stored. Many of the Tatars and the Cumans who were there with us, looked at all this and enjoyed and were delighted that fathers redeemed their lives through their daughters, husbands through their wives, brothers through their pretty sisters, kept for their pleasure. Their recreation was to rape the girls or wives before the fathers' or husbands' eyes. They set *kneses*,¹ that is, bailiffs, over the people in order to render justice and supply them with useful horses, animals, weapons, presents and clothing. My headman² was one of these lords and administered almost thousand villages; and there were some hundred such *kneses*.³ So we had peace, courts of law, and everyone obtained justice. The most beautiful girls were sent to them and those who procured them received for such presents sheep, oxen or horses. The *kneses* met almost every week. I often went there with my *knes* to see their way of life and get to know some chief men and to find out whether there was any way of getting free. Once, all the *kneses* gave the order that from certain villages the men, women and children should appear before them with gifts. We were quite frightened by this news, for we did not know its reason. Therefore, I chose to go with the *kneses* to the army rather than stay in the village in such uncertainty.⁴ We remained behind to guard the carts, unclothed and unshod in the tent of certain Hungarians who in deeds had become Tatars.⁵ The *kneses* went to receive the gifts and, after they had received them, they led the bearers of the gifts into a valley and killed them there, after terribly despoiling and stripping them naked.

³ The numbers are clearly overstatements as there were surely not several thousand villages in the Mongol held territory.

⁴ It is unclear what Master Roger decided to do.

⁵ While no details are known about Hungarians who—for whatever reason—joined the Mongols, John of Plano Carpini met some of them in 1245 at the court of the Great Khan who (along with other Europeans) assisted the papal envoys as translators and intermediaries (Dawson, *Mission*, p. 66).

XXXVI. QUOMODO PRESENTIS CARMINIS¹
AUCTOR AD MANUS TARTARORUM DEVENIT.

Et, cum ad me rumores huiusmodi pervenirent, ditioni cuiusdam Hungari facti, ut dixi, operibus Tartari me submisi, qui in suum servum admittere pro magna gratia me est dignatus. Et, cum per aliquot dies cum ipso permansissem, mortem semper pre corde preque oculis habebant. Conspexi inter hec Comanos infinitos et Tartaros cum spoliis curribus honeratis, pecoribus, iumentis et aliis utensilibus undique revertentes. Et, cum inquirerem, quid hoc esset, responsum est, quod ipsi una nocte dimissas omnes et singulas villas circumdantes *cruore inebriaverunt gladios in sanguine occisorum*² ita, quod in omnibus illis villis paucissimi evaserunt, qui in silvis et cavernis se abscondere potuerunt. Ita, quod remansit, provincia totaliter desolata. Verumtamen nec fruges nec stramina nec domos aliquas combusserunt, sed in desperationem vite omnia hec induxerunt. Pro eo coniieci firmiter ipsos velle in illis partibus hyemare vel familias suas dimittere, ut in hyeme pro equis domos et victualia invenirent. Quod totum postmodum didici esse verum. Nam populos vivere ad tempus dimiserant ad cautelam, ut in unum segetes congregarent et vindemiarent vineas, sed nolebant, ut illi consumerent congregata.

XXXVII. DE DESTRUCTIONE NOVE
VILLE ET MONASTERII DE EGRES.³

Quid plura? Versus Orodinum et Chanadinum procedere inceperunt in medio eorum nova villa dimissa, nomen cuius Perg⁴ fuerat, in qua homines LXX villarum fuerant congregati, et dimisso monasterio Egres Cisterchiensis ordinis, in quo tanquam munito castro se milites et multe domine receperant. Nec Tartari loca illa aggredi

¹ The *editio princeps* has *carminis*, which later editors wished to change to *epistola* ('letter'); we follow the *editio princeps*.

² Deut. 32.42.

36 HOW THE AUTHOR OF THIS LAMENT¹ FELL INTO THE HANDS OF THE TATARS

When the news of this reached me, I subjected myself to a Hungarian, who, as I said, had already become a Tatar in deeds. He gracefully deigned to accept me as his servant. After a few days with him, I always saw death with my physical and mind's eyes. During that time I saw innumerable Cumans and Tatars everywhere returning with their carts loaded with booty, herds, beasts of burden, and other necessities. Inquiring what this meant, I was told that they had during one single night surrounded all the remaining villages and *made their swords drunk with the blood of the slain*,² so that very few could escape from these villages. They went hiding in the forests and caves, so that the province remained totally desolate]. Yet they did not burn the crops, straw or some houses, but arranged all this to save their lives. From this I firmly concluded that they intended to spend the winter in this area or send their servants here to find shelter and fodder for their horses. This proved to be correct, as I learnt later. They left people alive for a time with the proviso that the corn crop should be brought together and the grapes harvested, but they did not want them to consume what they had brought in.

37 THE DESTRUCTION OF THE NEW VILLAGE AND THE MONASTERY OF IGRİŞ³

What more? They started to march towards Arad and Cenad, avoiding the new village between them called Pereg⁴ in which the people of seventy villages had gathered. They also bypassed the Cistercian monastery of Igrîş, where warriors and a number of la-

³ Hungarian Egres (Co. Temes), founded by King Béla III in 1179, was the burial place of King Andrew II and his first queen, Jolanta.

⁴ The settlement may have been one of those now called Micu and Mare Peregu in Romania or Kaszaper, Co. Békés, in Hungary. Probably the last is meant.

voluerunt, quousque circumcirca esset terra totaliter desolata. Sed interdum aliqui accedebant et ab Hungaris militibus per magnum terre spatium fugabantur^a ita, quod credebant firmiter se intactos propter suam potentiam remanere. Tandem post totius illius desolationem Ruthenorum, Comanorum, Hungarorum captivorum, paucorum etiam Tartarorum multitudine adunata villam magnam undique circumdantes ad pugnam captivos Hungaros premiserunt et illis interemptis totaliter Rutheni, Ismahelite,¹ Comani postmodum pugnaverunt. Tartari vero retro^b post omnes stantes ridebant de casu et ruina illorum et retrocedentes a pugna suorum dabant quamplurimos voragini gladiorum ita, quod ipsis diebus et noctibus pugnantibus per unam septimanam et fossatis impletis ceperunt villam. Milites et dominas, quae multae erant, extra in campo in una parte et rusticos in alia posuerunt ac pecunia, armis, vestibus et aliis bonis receptis ab eis et quibusdam dominabus et puellis reservatis ad vitam et ad lusum eorum deductis cum securibus et gladiis omnes crudeliter interfecerunt. Illi quidem solummodo remanserant, qui inter mortuos repentino casu decidentes alieno sanguine cruentati se occultare valuerunt. O dolor, o crudelitas et rabies immanis^c populi immensa! nam, quis tante gentis cladem sana mente consideraret, hunc locum *agrum sanguinis*² debite dicere posset. Tandem post paucos dies dictum claustrum sive monasterium Egres obsederunt et apposis eidem multis machinis, cum in ipso existentes nequirent resistere, ad manus et fidem ipsorum se, ut vita potirentur, reddiderunt. Sed de ipsis, quod et de aliis, factum est exceptis quibusdam monachis, quos abire libenter permiserunt, et ad abusum eorum retentis quibusdam dominabus et pulcerrimis puellis. Et quid amplius? Si describerentur singulariter pugne singule et crudelitates nimiae, quae fiebant legentium corda perterrerent et terribili sonitu tinire facerent aures. Si huiusmodi rumores hor-

^a fugabantur *A*, fugebantur *Ed.princ.*

^b retro *A*, retris *Ed.princ.*

^c immanis *F*, immani *Ed.princ.*, in mani *A*

dies had taken refuge as if in a fortified castle. The Tatars did not want to attack these places until they had devastated the region all around. Sometimes, however, they approached them, but the Hungarian warriors chased them off to quite a distance, and thus they started to believe that they might stay unharmed because of their military strength. After the devastation of the region, they surrounded the great village with a combined force of some Tatars together with Russians, Cumans and their Hungarian prisoners. They sent first the Hungarian prisoners ahead and when they were all slain, the Russians, the Ishmaelites,¹ and Cumans went into battle. The Tatars, standing behind them all at the back, laughed at their plight and ruin and killed those who retreated from the battle and subjected as many as they could to their devouring swords, so that after fighting for a week, day and night, and filling up the moat, they captured the village. Then they made the soldiers and ladies, of whom there were many, stand in a field on one side and the peasants on the other. Having robbed them of their money, clothing and other goods, they cruelly executed them with axes and swords, leaving only some of the ladies and girls alive, whom they took for their entertainment. Only those survived who quickly fell to the ground among the dead and could hide, besmirched by the blood of others. Oh pain, oh the cruelty and immense rage of this savage people! For whoever contemplates with sane mind the destruction of such a great nation cannot help but call this rightly a *field of blood*.² A few days later, they besieged the said cloister or monastery of Igriş with several siege engines. Those inside could not hold out and, to save their lives, they gave themselves up to the hand and faith of the Tatars. But the same happened to them as to the others, excepting a few monks whom they allowed to leave, and some ladies and the prettiest girls whom they retained for their own use. What else? Were we to describe every battle and all the boundless cruelty that transpired, what transpired would make the readers' hearts tremble and their ears ring from the frightful words. Should

¹ In medieval Hungarian Latinity, Muslims were called Ishmaelites; see DRMH 1, p. 55.

² Matt. 27.8

ribiles essent diffusi per orbem, mundi principes aliter cogitarent. Ecce, per estatem illam usque ad confinia Austrie, Bohemie, Moravie, Polonie, Slesie et Comanie usque ad Danubium communiter omnia^a destruxerunt.

XXXVIII. DE ASTUTIA TARTARORUM AD TRANSEUNDUM DANUBIUM EXQUISITA.

Sed cum Strigonium in Hungaria omnes et singulas precelleret civitates¹ maxime cogitabant transire Danubium et ibi figere castra sua. Ecce, in hyeme nivis et glaciei habundantia supervenit ita, quod Danubius, quod non acciderat a multis retroactis temporibus, gelabatur. Sed Hungari ex ipsorum parte singulis diebus frangebant glacies et custodiebant Danubium ita, quod assidue fiebat pugna peditum super gelu. Tamen, cum dire glacies advenerunt, totum Danubium congelatum est, sed isti transire cum equis nullatenus attentabant. Advertite igitur, quid fecerunt. Multos equos et animalia super rippam Danubii adduxerunt et neminem per tres dies ad eorum custodiam dimiserunt ita, quod bestie sine custodibus pergere videbantur; nec aliquis eorum in illis partibus apparebat. Tunc Hungari credentes Tartaros recessisse, subito transierunt et omnia illa animalia per glacies transduxerunt. Quod Tartari advertentes cogitarunt posse in equis transire libere super gelu. Quod et factum est et tot uno impetu transierunt, quod ex ista parte Danubii terre faciem impleverunt. Rex autem Cadan post regem Hungarie properavit, qui in Slavonia, tanquam qui nullum habebat subsidium, morabatur. Sed ipse huius facti prescius fugam iniit et, cum ipse marittima castra acceptare nequiret, ad insulas pertransivit² ita, quod usque ad recessum eorum eum insule tenuerunt. Videns Cadan rex, quod eum habere non posset, destruxit Boznam, regnum Rascie³ et inde in Bulgariam pertransivit.

^a omnia A, *om. Ed.princ.*

¹ Esztergom was the first royal residence and probably the first bishopric founded before 1000 A.D., built on a previous Slavic settlement, at the bend of the Danube.

such horrible news spread all over the world, the princes of this world would think differently. Behold, during that summer they destroyed everything all the way to the borders of Austria, Bohemia, Moravia, Poland, Silesia, and Cumania as far as the Danube.

38 THE EXTRAORDINARY CLEVERNESS OF THE TATARS IN CROSSING THE DANUBE

Because Esztergom surpasses all and every city in Hungary,¹ the Tatars planned above all to cross the Danube and set up their camp there. And behold, that winter there was so much snow and ice that the Danube froze over, which had not happened for a long time. But the Hungarians every day broke up the ice on their side and guarded the Danube in such a way that the foot soldiers continuously fought on the ice. Still, when a strong frost arrived and the Danube froze entirely, the Tatars did not try to cross with their horses. Watch what they did! They led many horses and other animals to the bank of the Danube and for three days left no one to guard them and the animals seemed to roam around unguarded, nor did any of them show up there. Then, the Hungarians, believing that the Tatars had left, swiftly crossed and led the animals across the ice. The Tatars observed this and realized that it was possible to cross the ice safely on horseback. They did just that and in one rush so many had crossed that they covered the land on this side of the Danube. King Qadan, in turn, hastened after the king of Hungary, who was tarrying in Slavonia, as he had received no help. Anticipating this, he took to flight and, since he did not find the castles on the seacoast suitable, crossed to the islands² and stayed on the islands until the Tatars left. King Qadan, however, seeing that he could not catch him, wasted Bosnia and Serbia³ and thence marched into Bulgaria.

The city was inhabited partly by *Latini*, settlers from Romance-speaking regions (as mentioned below).

² King Béla moved first to Trogir in Dalmatia, but later even further to the near-by island of Čiovo.

³ The Latin Rascia (Slav.: Raška) meant Serbia.

XXXIX. QUOMODO TARTARI STRIGONIUM DESTRUXERUNT.

Alia vero pars exercitus versus nominatum Strigonium habuit iter suum et usque ad illud paucissimi accesserunt, sed se longius posuerunt et usque ad XXX machinas paraverunt. Strigonienses interim se cum fossatis, muris et turribus ligneis fortissime munierant. Et erat in civitate illa populus infinitus et burgenses ditissimi, milites, nobiles et domine, que illic convenerant velut ad presidium singulare, sed tanta eorum erat superbia, quod credebant se resistere posse toti mundo. Ecce una dierum civitatem Tartari circumdederunt et captivi, qui cum eis erant, tot ramorum fasciculos portaverunt, quod in una parte civitatis supra fossati supercilium altum murum simul et semel de fasticulis construxerunt et statim post murum illum dictas triginta machinas posuerunt ita, quod die noctuque ad civitatem et ad turres ligneas lapides emittebant. Et propter hoc tantus in civitate cepit esse tumultus et tanta fuerunt caligine obumbrati, quod iam memoriam amiserant se deffendendi et inter se tanquam ceci et fatui vexebantur. Cum vero Tartari munitiones ligneas destruxissent, saccos plenos de terra ad implendum fossata cum machinis emittebant. Verum nullus ex Hungaris et aliis audebat in fossati supercilio comparere propter lapides et sagittas. Hungari vero et Francigene ac Lombardi, qui quasi erant domini civitatis, se non posse deffendere advertentes combusserunt suburbia et domos ligneas, que multe erant, usque ad palatia civitatis. Pannos de colore^a et vestes combusserunt in domibus infinitas, interfece-
cerunt equos, aurum et argentum ad terram foderunt et, quicquid boni habuerunt, absconderunt et, ut se in palatiis deffenderent, in eadem se receperunt. Sed Tartari prescientes, quod combusta erant omnia, de quibus se ditari credebant, contra eos magnam succensi in iram claudendo civitatem cum phalangis ligneis subito circumcirca, ut nullus evaderet, quin per os gladii pertransiret, et incep-
erunt postmodum palatia expugnare. Quibus velociter expugnatis, non credo, ut verum fatear, quod XV de tota remanserunt civitate,

^a calore *Ed.princ.*

39 HOW THE TATARS DESTROYED
ESZTERGOM

Another part of the army turned towards Esztergom, but only a few went that far; they mostly settled some distance away and prepared some thirty siege engines. Those of Esztergom had meanwhile fortified themselves with moats, walls and wooden towers. The innumerable commoners and very rich burghers, knights, nobles, and ladies who gathered in that remarkable fortress were so self-confident that they thought they could resist the whole world. Behold, one day the Tatars surrounded the city, and the prisoners who were with them brought so many bundles of twigs that on one side of the city they all at once built a tall wall of these bundles above the brow of the moat and the thirty siege engines were placed behind that wall. They shot stones at the city and at the wooden towers day and night. This caused such chaos in the city and brought such gloom to the people's minds that they forgot all about defenses and quarreled among themselves like blind and foolish men. Then, once the Tatars had demolished the wooden towers, they threw with their engines bags full of earth to fill up the moat. None of the Hungarians or the others dared to appear on the brow of the moat because of the stones and arrows. When the Hungarians and the French and Lombards, who were like the lords of the city, realized that they could not hold out, they set fire to the suburb and the wooden houses of which there were many, all the way to the stone palaces. In the houses they burned immense amount of dyed cloth and garments, slaughtered the horses, buried gold and silver, and hid whatsoever goods they had before retiring to the palaces to defend themselves. When the Tatars found out that all by which they wanted to get rich had been burnt, they became very angry and swiftly closed off the city with wooden palisades, so that whoever tried to escape would run into the throat of the sword. Then they started to besiege the palaces. Having taken them swiftly, I believe, to tell the truth, that no more than fifteen people were not killed basely in or outside the city. They *inebriated* their

qui non fuissent tam intus, quam extra omnes nequiter interfecti. Ibi *inebriaverunt gladios suos*¹ in sanguine et ex calore, quem conceperant contra eos, vivos assabant homines sicut porcos.

XL. QUOMODO POSTEA TARTARI DESTRUCTA PENE OMNI HUNGARIA AD PROPRIA REDIERUNT.

Domine autem magne, sicut melius poterant se ornari, in uno palatio se collegerant et, cum capi et interfici deberent, ad audentiam magni principis appellaverunt. Omnes sunt fere trecente extra civitatem ad principem adducte, que pro munere petierunt, ut eas vite sub suo dominio conservaret. Qui iratus pro eo, quod nihil lucrati fuerant, precepit, ut receptis spoliis earum capite truncarentur. Quod subito factum fuit. Castro civitatis non expugnato, in quo erat comes Symeon Hispanus cum multis balistariis,² qui se viriliter deffendebant. Et, cum ad Albam Regiam civitatem accederent, que est paludibus circumsepta, cum esset in dissolutione nivis et glaciei, nequiverunt eam occupare. Et, cum castrum sancti Martini de Pannonia³ expugnarent, abbate se viriliter deffendente fuerunt subito revocati⁴ ita, quod ista tria loca tantum inexpugnata in illis partibus remanserunt. Et terram tam ultra Danubium quam citra eorum manibus habuerunt, sed citra non fuit funditus desolata ita, quia ibi sua tentoria non fuerunt, sed transeundo, quicquid invenerunt, unanimiter destruxerunt. Auditis itaque rumoribus, quod Tartari aspernabantur Theutonium expugnare,⁵ quamplurimum dolui, quia ibi manus occidentium evadere opinabar, et gavisus

¹ Is. 34.5.

² *Ispán* Simon's sister had come to Hungary in the retinue of Queen Constance of Aragon, wife of King Emeric (1196-1204), and was followed by her brothers Simon and Bertram. Simon was the ancestor of the later important Nagymartoni family. The word *balistarius* is equivocal: it may refer to siege engines (or rather their handlers) or to crossbowmen. It is unknown which of these defended Esztergom.

³ The Benedictine monastery of Pannonhalma, the oldest monastery in Hungary, was founded by Prince Géza in 996 at a location believed to be connected to St Martin (of Tours). Its abbot at the time was Urias/Uros (1206-44).

*swords*¹ with blood and, in their passion that they had conceived against them, they fried people alive, like pigs.

40 HOW THE TATARS RETURNED HOME HAVING DESTROYED ALMOST ALL OF HUNGARY

When they were due to be captured and killed, the better ladies, dressed as beautifully as they could, gathered in one of the palaces and appealed for an audience with the grand prince. All, about three hundred of them, were led out of the city to the prince and asked for the gift of being left alive under his rule. He, however, in his anger for not having won any booty, ordered them to be robbed and beheaded. And that was done right away. They could not take the citadel of the city, because the Spaniard Simon manfully defended it with his many crossbowmen.² And when they reached the city of Székesfehérvár that is surrounded by marshes, they could not take it because the snow and ice was about to melt. And while they were besieging the castle of St Martin of Pannonia,³ manfully defended by the abbot, they were suddenly called back,⁴ so that only these three places remained unconquered in that region. They held the country both beyond and on this side of the Danube, but the part on this side of the Danube was not as much destroyed, because they did not encamp here but only wasted all they found while marching through. When I heard that the Tatars had given up the plan to attack Germany,⁵ I became very sad, for I thought that there I could get out of their murderous hands; but I

⁴ Great Khan Ögedei died on 11 December 1241, and the princes and tribal leaders were called to a *kuriltay* in Karakorum. Some historians suggest that there was already some tension among the grandsons of Chinggis even before their uncle died; see, e.g., John Joseph Saunders, *History of the Mongol Conquests*, 2d ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), pp. 88–9. As mentioned above (p. L, n. 21), the reason for the Mongols' return from Central Europe is still debated among historians.

⁵ Such a plan of the Mongols is also mentioned by Friar Julian (referring to Rome; "Epistula," Dörrie, Heinrich, ed., *Drei Texte*, p. 178) and by John of Plano Carpini (Dawson, *Mission*, pp. 44–6).

fui^a non modicum, quia Christianorum excidium vitabatur. Sed maiorum regum de mandato incepimus per depopulatam terram retrocedere cum curribus oneratis spoliis, armamentis, iumentorum et pecorum gregibus pedetentim latebras et opaca^b saltuum exquirendo, ut, que reperta in progressibus non fuerant, in regressibus invenirentur. Et sic retrocedendo paulatim pervenimus Ultra Silvas, ubi remanserat populi multitudo, et erant ibi post eorum transitum castra plurima preparata. Et quid ultra? Exceptis castris quibusdam¹ terram totaliter occuparunt et eam procedentes desolatam et vacuam relinquerunt. Iam, cum exirent Hungariam, Comaniam intrare ceperunt. Non sinebant, ut prius, quod sine delecto interficerentur bestie pro captivis, sed intestina et pedes bestiarum et capita tantum dabant eis. Tunc incepimus cogitare, ut etiam^c interpretes referebant, quod nobis Hungariam exeuntibus dabunt nos omnes voragini gladiorum. Et, cum iam mihi vivendi fiducia nulla esset et mors dira et aspera in ianuis haberetur, cogitavi melius ibi mori, quam procedendo assiduis morsibus cruciari. Et sic via publica derelicta ire ad opus naturale simulans ad densitatem saltus festinis gressibus cum serviente unico properavi et subintrans eiusdem rivuli concavum me feci ramis et foliis cooperiri. Absconditque se serviens meus remotius, ne unius inopinata inventio mestam operaretur alterius captionem. Et sic iacuimus duobus diebus naturalibus non levantes capita, sicut in sepulcris, audientes voces illorum horribiles, qui propius per saltum post erroneum iter pecorum abibant captivos sepius, qui se abscondebant, acclamantes. Non valentibus nobis ulterius famis iustissimum appetitum et edendi anxiam voluntatem infra claustra cordis taciturnitatis nodo perstringere levavimus capita et more serpentium pedibus et mani-

^a fui *A, om. Ed.princ.*

^b opaca *A, optata Ed.princ.*

^c etiam *A, om. Ed.princ.*

¹ The locations that were not conquered were listed in a letter of Hungarian lords and prelates to the pope, dated 2 February 1242. They included, besides the ones mentioned by Roger, several castles on the Austrian border and in the region that

was glad that the destruction of Christians had been avoided. On the command of the chief kings, we started to retreat across the wastelands with carts loaded with booty and arms, and herds of cattle and sheep, slowly searching all the hiding places and the dark-nesses of the forests, to find while retreating what they had missed when advancing. Thus, moving back slowly, we reached Transylva-nia, where many people had survived and where several castles were been readied after the Tatars had been there. What more? With the exception of a few castles,¹ they occupied the whole country and as they passed through, they left the country desolate and empty. Then they left Hungary and marched into Cumania. Now they did not allow, as they had before, that whole animals be slaughtered for the prisoners indiscriminately, but only the intestines, heads, and feet of the animals were given to them. We feared—and heard from the interpreters—that once we left Hungary, we would all be given to their devouring swords. As I had no hope of survival, and a bitter and cruel death was already waiting at the door, I thought it were better to die here than to be tortured by the steady stings [of fear]. Therefore, I left the highway as if following the call of nature, and rushed towards the dense forest with my only servant and hid in the hollow of a creek, covering myself with leaves and branches. My servant hid farther way, so that the chance detection of the one should not cause the unhappy capture of the other. We lay thus for two full days, as in graves, not raising our heads and heard the terrible voices of those who, following the footprints of erring beasts, passed close by in the forest and often shouted after the prisoners who were in hiding. And when we could no more repress in the deep silence of our hearts the very just demands of hunger and the troubling desire for food in the closed silence of our hearts, we lifted our heads and began to crawl like snakes, using

is now western Slovakia. The letter never reached Rome; it survived in the Dominican monastery of Siena, a copy of which (from the State Archives) was edited by F. Schneider, "Ein Schreiben der Ungarn an die Kurie aus der letzten Zeit des Tata-reineinfalles," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 36 (1915/16), pp. 668–70 (cf. Göckenjan, *Mongolensturm*, pp. 291–6).

bus reptavimus super terram. Convenimus tandem et voce debili ac submissa mestas querelas importune famis alternatim cepimus reserare ac gemitibus et fletibus explicare, quod gladio mori minoris excidii fuisset, quam per inediam compagine membrorum ac unionem corporis et anime dissolvere. Et, cum pios sermones huiusmodi conferemus, affuit unus homo, ad quem, cum se nostrorum acies extenderet oculorum, fugam inivimus timorosam nec avertimus oculos fugiendi, ut intueremus, si nobis previus esse posset vel foret nobis fugientibus subsequela. Sed non minus ipsum vidimus vices assumere precursoris, credebat enim, quod virtus nostra prevalida insidias sibi poneret per obliquum. Et, cum communis inspector traderet et teneret, quod fugitivi conspicerent fugitivum armorumque delatio apud illos nulla foret, stetimus advocantes nos adinvicem nutibus atque signis. Et, cum unus daret de se ipso alteri notionem, prolixis sermonibus atque piis deliberando decrevimus, quid agere deberemus. Sed angustia geminata, videlicet fame execrabili et timore mortis anxie torquebamur ita, quod privari videbamur penitus lumine oculorum. Nam nequibamus succum herbarum silvestrium deglutire vel ipsas herbas, uti faciunt bestie, masticare. Et, licet nos tanta famis^a perurgeret et stupende mortis aculeus immineret, prestabat tamen nobis vivendi fiducia fulcimentum et evadendi spes fortitudinem ministrabat. Et sic assumpta fiducia in domino confortati¹ ad extrema silve pervenimus affectuose, ascendimus arborem eminentem et terram conspeximus a Tartaris desolatam, quam non destruxerant veniendo. O dolor! Terram depopulatam et vacuum cepimus peragrarare, quam in eundo dimiserant desolatam. Basilicarum siquidem campanalia de loco ad locum erant nobis signa ducentia et ipsa viam nobis satis horrida presignabant. Nam erant vie et semite antiquate et ab herbis et vepribus totaliter occupate. Porrum, portulace, cepe et alea, que in ortis rusticorum remanserant, quando reperiri poterant, mihi pro maximis deliciis ferebantur; ceteri malva, cicardis et cicutarum radicibus utebantur. Hiis ventres famelici replebantur et spiritus vegetabilis in exsangu corpore refocilabatur^b. *Lassis requies non*

^a famas *F*, famis *Ed.princ.*

arms and legs. We finally met and began in low and feeble voices to utter to each other the sad complaints of our tormenting hunger. We mournfully wept and groaned that it would have been easier to die by the sword than let the bond of our limbs and the unity of body and soul fall apart through starvation. While we were exchanging such words of consolation, a man appeared and as soon as we set our eyes on him, we took to fearful flight and did not turn our sight away [from him] to see whether he was gaining or falling behind us in flight. But we saw that he was not trying to be a roadrunner, for he thought that we might use our advantage to trap him from the side. Thus, when we had mutually observed that we were all fugitives and unarmed, we stopped and made contact with nods and signs. When we had all realized who we were, we discussed in long and friendly conversation what to do. But we were doubly distressed, namely by wretched hunger and fear of death, so that we seemed almost to have lost our eyesight, for we were unable to swallow the sap of the plants of the forest or chew the grass as cattle do. And, although such great hunger beset us and the sting of numbing death threatened, we nevertheless obtained strength from confidence in living, and our hope in escape gave us courage. Thus, taking confidence and strengthened in the Lord,¹ we excitedly reached the edge of the forest. We climbed a tall tree and surveyed the land destroyed by the Tatars that they had not wasted when they first came. What pain! We began to walk across the waste and abandoned land that they had destroyed while retreating. Church towers were our way signs from one place to another and the road they marked for us was rough. The roads and paths had vanished; grass and thorn bushes had taken over. Leeks, purslane, onions and garlic, left in the gardens of the peasants, were, when they could be found, brought to me as the choicest delicacies; the others made do with mallow, houseleek and cowbane roots. We filled our hungry stomachs with these and the spirit of life was revived in our drained bodies. *We were weary and no rest was given*

^b refocilabantur *Ed.princ.*

¹ Cf. Zach. 10. 12.

dabatur,¹ utpote qui absque tecto et operimentum^a, quo nostra tegeremus capita, non habentes nocturno tempore quiescebamus. Tandem vix octavo die a silve recessu ad Albam² venimus civitatem, in qua nihil potuit reperiri, preterquam ossa et capita occisorum, basilicarum et palatiorum muros dirruptos et subfossos, quos nimia Christiani cruoris effusio macularat. Et, licet terra innoxium sanguinem, quem inebriata suxerat, non monstraret, ostendebant se lapides adhuc cruore roseo purpuratos, per quos absque continuato gemitu amaris suspiriis festinus transitus non fiebat. Et erat ibi ad decem miliaria iuxta silvam villa, que Frata³ dicitur in vulgari, et infra silvam ad quattuor miliaria mons mirabilis et excelsus, in cuius summitate lapis et petra fundabatur terribilis; magna ibi hominum et mulierum confugerat multitudo, qui nos gratanter cum fletu receperunt interrogabantque nos de nostris periculis, que nos omnia illis paucis verbis declarare nequiebamus. Obtulerunt tandem nobis nigrum panem de farina et contritis corticibus quercuum pistatos, sed nobis dulcor illius supra semilias^b quandocunque per nos comestas suavior videbatur. Mansimus igitur ibidem uno mense nec fuimus ausi discedere, sed mittebamus semper speculatores ex hominibus levioribus videre et rescire, si adhuc que pars Tartarorum in Hungaria remansisset aut si arte deceptoriam, ut prius, instructi pro capiendis reliquis fuga lapsis reverterentur. Et, quamvis sepius necessitate querendi victualia^c cogente loca petierimus quondam habitata, nunquam tamen noster tutus fuit descensus, donec rex Bela marittimis de partibus⁴ per cruciferos de insula Rodi et dominos de Frangapanibus⁵ multis agminibus militum adiunctus certificatus prius per Hungaros de recessu Tartarorum in Hungariam venit.

^a operimentum *A*, operimento *Ed.princ.*

^b similas *A*

^c victualia *A*, victualium *Ed.princ.*

¹ Lam. 5.5

² Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár, German Karlsburg), a settlement with Roman prehistory (Apulum), was for centuries the seat of the bishop of Transylvania; the Romanesque cathedral was built in the late eleventh century. Roger's plural for basilicas is warranted by the number of archaeologically established church buildings in the city.

us,¹ as we took our nightly rest with no roof above us and no cover for our heads. Finally, on the eighth day after leaving the forest, we arrived at the city of Alba Iulia.² There we found nothing save the bones and skulls of the dead, the destroyed and broken walls of basilicas and palaces, soiled by the blood of an enormous numbers of Christians. The earth did not show the blood of the innocent, for it had absorbed it inebriated, but the stones were still cloaked with crimson blood and we could not hurry through them without continuous groans and bitter sighs. Ten miles from there, next to the forest, was a village, called Frata³ in the vernacular, and here, four miles within the forest, a marvelously high mountain. On the peak of it was a rock, a looming crag, where a great number of men and women had taken refuge. They received us with joy among tears and inquired about the perils we had passed through, all of which we could not tell them in a few words. Finally they gave us black bread, baked of flour and the ground bark of oak trees, and it tasted sweeter than any simnel-cake we had ever eaten. We stayed there for a month and dared not leave, but kept sending out scouts from among the more nimble folk to find out whether a group of Tatars still remained in Hungary or whether they were about to return, skilled in the art of cunning, to capture the surviving runaways. Although we often visited the formerly inhabited villages, forced by the need for food, it was never safe for us to come down until King Béla returned to Hungary with many companies of warriors from the maritime region,⁴ assisted by the Knights of Rhodes and the lords Frankapan,⁵ having been previously informed by Hungarians of the retreat of the Tatars.

³ The location is problematic. If Frata (Hung.: Magyarfráta), ca. 35 km east of Cluj is meant, it is ca. 80 km north from Alba Iulia—which would be some ten German miles—then it is not unlikely to have been reached by the fugitives. However, no high mountain is known near by.

⁴ The king returned from Dalmatia in August 1242.

⁵ The names of the two allies of the king must have been altered for the first edition. The Knights of St John acquired Rhodes only in 1291, after Roger's death, and the counts of Veglia (Krk) used the name *de Frangepanis* only after 1428. The assistance of the counts of Krk was gratefully mentioned by King Béla in a charter from 1255 (Fejér, *Cod. Dipl.*, 4/2, p. 309).

Scripsi igitur hec paternitati vestre absque admixtione falsitatis, ut eadem vestra paternitas, que prosperitatis mee scit rotam, sciat et adversitatis ac periculi quidditatem. Valeat p[aternitas] v[estra].

I have written all this to you, father, without adding in anything false, so that you, father, who knows about the felicitous turn of my fortune, may know as well the true nature of my misfortune and danger. Good health, my father!

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[Abbrev.: (A) in Anonymus; (R) in Roger]

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GAZETTEERS OF GEOGRAPHIC NAMES

Abbreviations for Languages and Countries: A. – Austria, ALB. – Albanian, B. – Bulgarian, CR. – Croatian, CZ. – Czech, G. – German, Gr. – Greek, H. – Hungarian, I. – Italian, P. – Polish, R. – Romanian, S. – Slovakian, SE. – Serbian, SLO. – Slovenian, U. – Ukrainian

FOR ANONYMUS

ANONYMUS'S LATIN	OTHER FORMS	PRESENT DAY FORM AND/OR FORM USED IN THE TRANSLATION
Alba Bulgarie	Nándorfehérvár (H)	Belgrade (SE)
Almas	Almás (H)	Almaş (R)
Bana	Bán(?) (H)	Banka(?) (S)
Blundus	Bolondóc (H)	Beckov (S)
Borona	Baranya (H)	Borona
Borons	Barancs (H)	Braničevo (SE)
Borsoa	Borsova (H)	Boržava (U)
Borssed Zovolun	Borsséd-Zólyom (H) Boršod Zvolen (S)	“Borséd” Zvolen
Bundyn	Bodony (H)	Vidin (B)
Byhor	Bihar (H)	Biharia (R)
Camarum	Komárom (H)	Komarno (S)
Castrum Borsu	Bars(?) (H)	(Starý) Tekov(?) (S)
Castrum Philippi regis	Philippopolis, Plovdiv (B) (?)	the castle of King Philip

ANONYMUS'S LATIN	OTHER FORMS	PRESENT DAY FORM AND/OR FORM USED IN THE TRANSLATION
Colgoucy	Galgóc (H), Freistadt (G)	Hlohovec (S)
Copus	Kapus (H)	Căpuș (R)
Cris	Körös (H)	Crișul (R)
(iuxta fluvium) Culpe	Kulpa (HU), Kolpa (SLO)	Kupa (Cr)
Durasu	Durazzo (I), Dyrrachion	Durrës (ALB)
Erdevelu; (terra) Ultrasilvana, (dux) Ultrasilvanus	Erdély (H), Siebenbürgen (G), Ardeal (R)	Transylvania
Esculeu	Aștileu (R)	Esküllő (H)
Galicia	Halics (H)	Halych (U)
Gron	Garam (H)	Hron (S)
Gumur	Gömör (H)	Gemer (S)
Guncil pons	Göncöl hídja (H)	Bruck a.d. Leitha (A)
Horom	Haram, Palánk (H)	(Stara) Palanka (SE)
Hung, Hungu, Hungvar	Ungvár (H), Užhorod (U),	Ung (H)
Keve	Keve (H)	Kovin (SE)
Lodomer, Lodomeria	La(o)doméria (H)	Volodimer (U)
Mezesina, Mezesyna, porta	Meszes (H)	Mezeș, gate (R)
Moróa, Morova	Morva (H), March (A)	Morava (SL)
Moroanensium	Mur (A)	Mura (H, SLO)
Morus	Maros (H)	Mureș (R)
Muncas	Mukačevo (U)	Munkács (H)
[Neopatras]	Ypati (Gr)	Neopatras
Nitra, Nitria, Nytra, Nytria	Nyitra (H), Neutra (G)	Nitra (S)

ANONYMUS'S LATIN	OTHER FORMS	PRESENT DAY FORM AND/OR FORM USED IN THE TRANSLATION
Peturgoz	Pétergaz, Péterhegye (H), Petrova gora(?) CR	Peturgoz
Ponoucea	Panyóca (H)	Ponjavica (SE)
Porta Wazil	Trayanovi vrata (B), Soukeis Pass	Basil, Gate of
Posaga	Pozsega (H)	Požega (CR)
Rachy, Racy terra	Rácföld, Szerbia (H)	Serbia
Saruvar	Sárvár (H)	Saruvar
Scereducy	Szeredőc (H), modern Sofia, Sofija (B)	Serdica (B)
Seztureg	Csesztreg (H), Zlatica (?) (SE)	Seztureg
Spaletina civitas	Spalato (I)	Split (CR)
Stumtey	Sempte (H), Schintau (G)	Šintava (S)
Sunad	Csanád (H)	Cenad (R)
Sytua	Zsitva (H)	Žitava (S)
Temus	Temes (H)	Timiș (R)
Thiscia, Thysia	Tisza (H), Tisa (SE, R)	Tisza (H), river
Torhus	(Tisza)tarros (H)	Taraš (SE)
Trusun	Trencsén (H)	Trenčín (S)
Turmas	Tormos (H)	Tormoš (S)
Tursoc	Törzsök erdő (H)	Turčok (S)
Turtur	Tátra (H)	Tatry (S)
Urschia	Orsova (H)	Orșova (R)
Vadum Arenarum	Fövény, Fény (H)	Foeni (R)
Varod, W̄arod	Várad (H)	Várad (S)
Vereucea	Verőce (H)	Virovitica (CR)

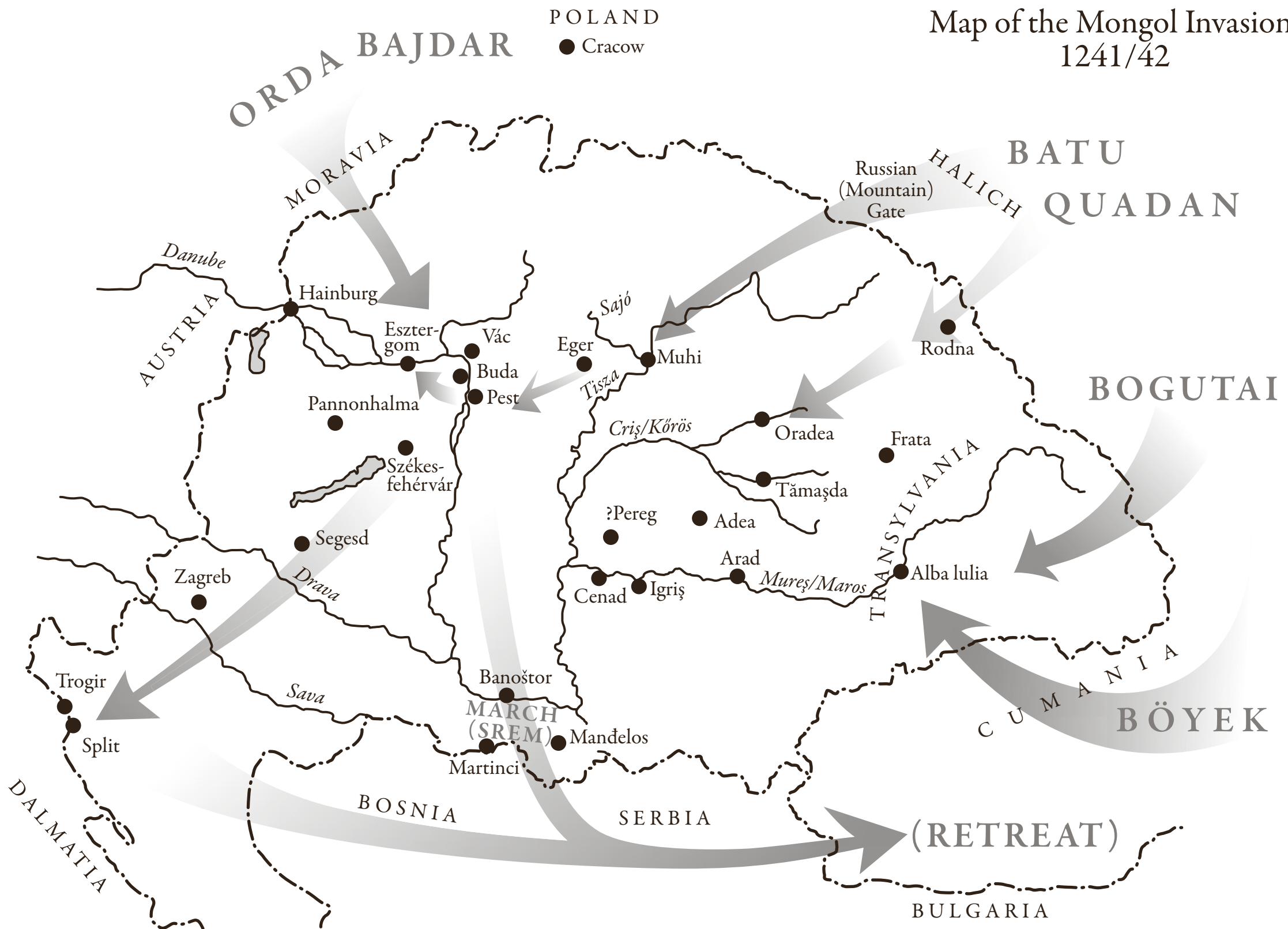
ANONYMUS'S LATIN	OTHER FORMS	PRESENT DAY FORM AND/OR FORM USED IN THE TRANSLATION
Vlcou	Valkó (H)	Vukovar (CR)
Wag	Vág (H), Wag (G)	Váh (S)
Ypul	Ipoly (H)	Ipeľ (S), Ipoly (H)
Zabrag	Zágráb (H), Agram (G)	Zagreb
Zarand	Zaránd (H)	Zărand (R)
Zemlin	Zemplén (H)	Zemplín (S)
Zepus	Szepesség (H), Zips (G)	Spiš (S)
Ziloc	Zilah (H), Zillenmarkt (G)	Zaláu (R)
Zoloncaman	Szalánkemén (H)	(Stari) Slankamen (SE)
Zomus	Szamos (H)	Someș (R)
Zotmar	Szatmár (H)	Satu Mare (R)
Zovolon, Zovolun	Zólyom (H), Altsohl (G)	Zvolen
Zubur	Zobor (H)	Zobor (S)

FOR ROGERIUS

ROGER'S LATIN	OTHER FORMS	PRESENT-DAY FORM USED IN TRANSLATION
Agria	Erlau (G)	Eger (H)
Agya	Ágya (H)	Adea (R)
Alba Regia	Stuhlweissenburg (G), Fehérvár (H)	Székesfehérvár (H)
Buda	Ofen (G)	Buda[pest] (H)
Chanadinus civitas	Csanád, Marosvár (H)	Cenad (R)
Crisius fluvius	Körös (H)	Criș River (R)
Danubius	Donau (G), Duna (H)	Danube
Egres	Egres (H)	Igriș (R)
Franca villa	Nagyolaszi (H)	Mandelos (S)
Frata	Magyarfráta (H)	Frata (R)
Geroth	(Fekete) Gyarmat (H)	Iermata Neagră (R)
Iauriensis civitas	Raab (G)	Győr (H)
Kew	Kő (Bánmonostor) (H)	Banoștor (SE)
Marchia	Srem (S)	March
(super fluvium) Morisii	Maros (H)	Mureș (R), river
Pons Thomae	Thomasbrücke (G), Tamáshida (H)	Tâmașda (R)
Porta Ruscie (Montana)	Verecke Pass, Vorota (U)	"Russian (Mountain) Gate"
Preneſtine(?) (ecclesie)	Palestrina (I)	Preneſte
Rudana	Radna, Óradna (H)	Rodna (R)
Sancti Martini (castrum)	Martinsberg (G)	Pannonhalma (H)
Sancti Martini (villa)	Szentmárton (H)	Martinci (S)
Strigonium	Gran (G)	Esztergom (H)
Ticia	Theiss (G)	Tisza (H)

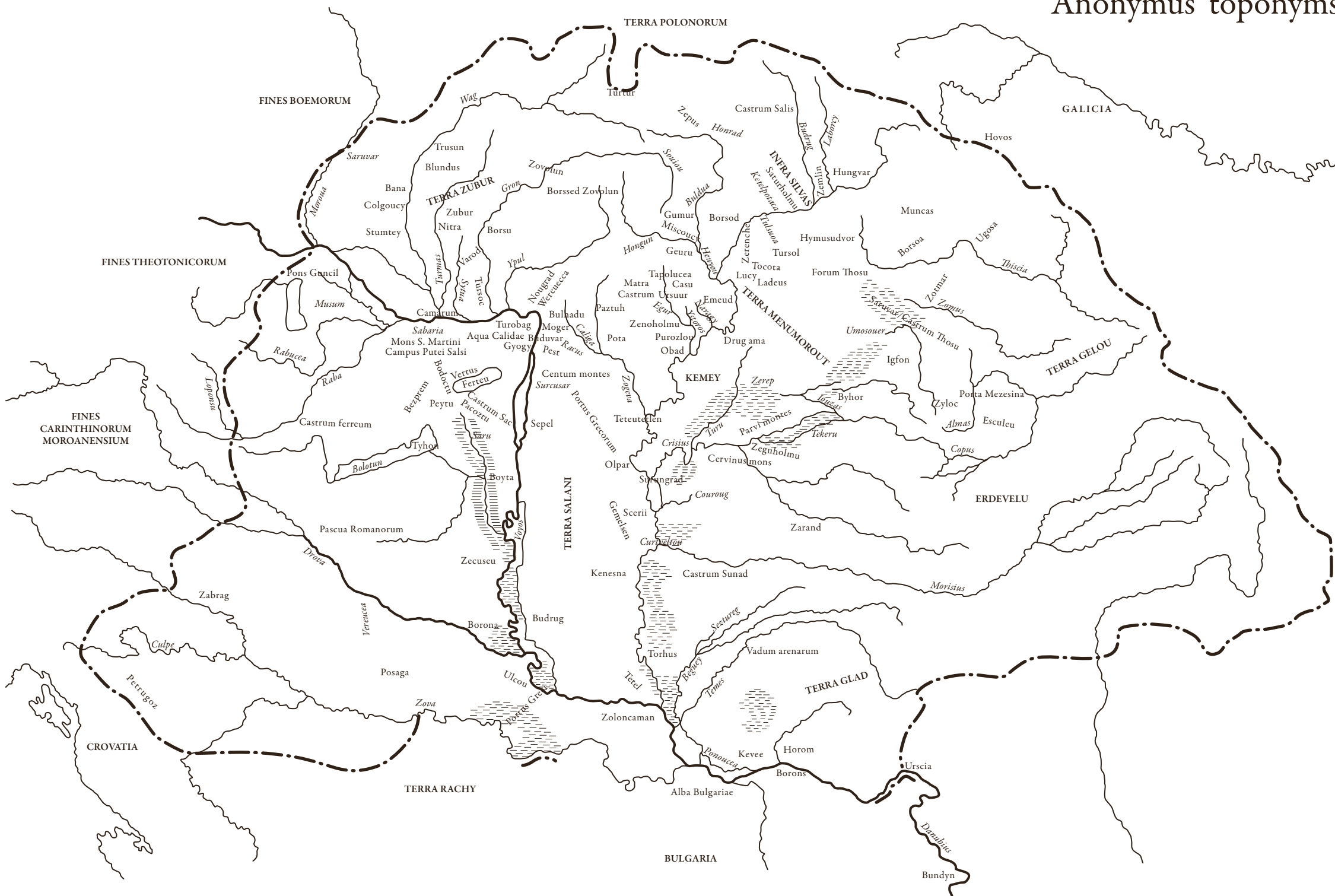
ROGER'S LATIN	OTHER FORMS	PRESENT-DAY FORM USED IN TRANSLATION
Venecia	Venezia (I)	Venice
Wacia	Waizen	Vác (H)
Waradinum, Waradiensis civitas	Várad, Nagyvárad, (H), Grosswardein (G)	Oradea (R)
Wratislavia	Bresslau (G)	Wrocław (P)

Map of the Mongol Invasion, 1241/42



The movements of the Mongol troops are approximate

Map of Hungary with Anonymus' toponyms



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